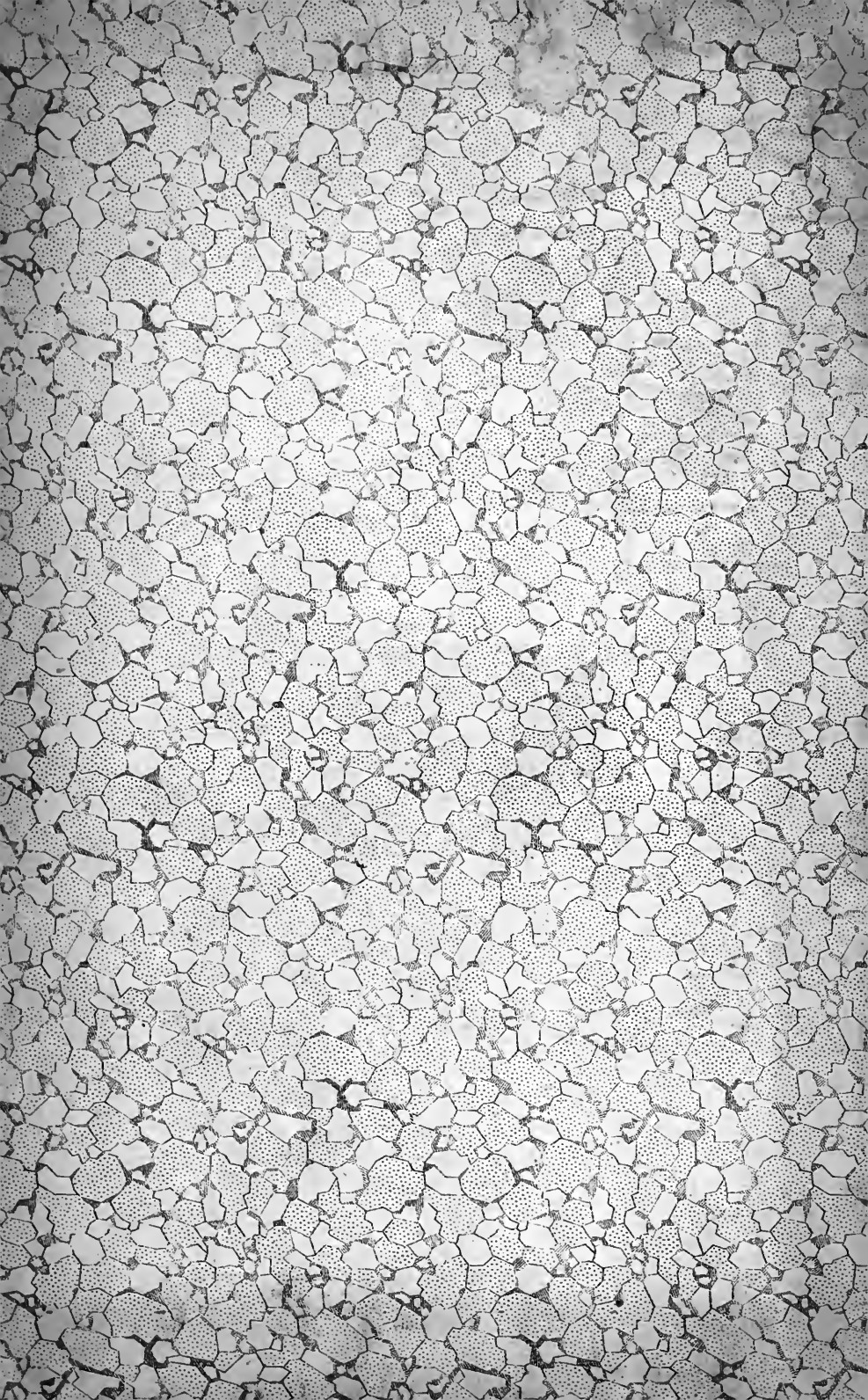


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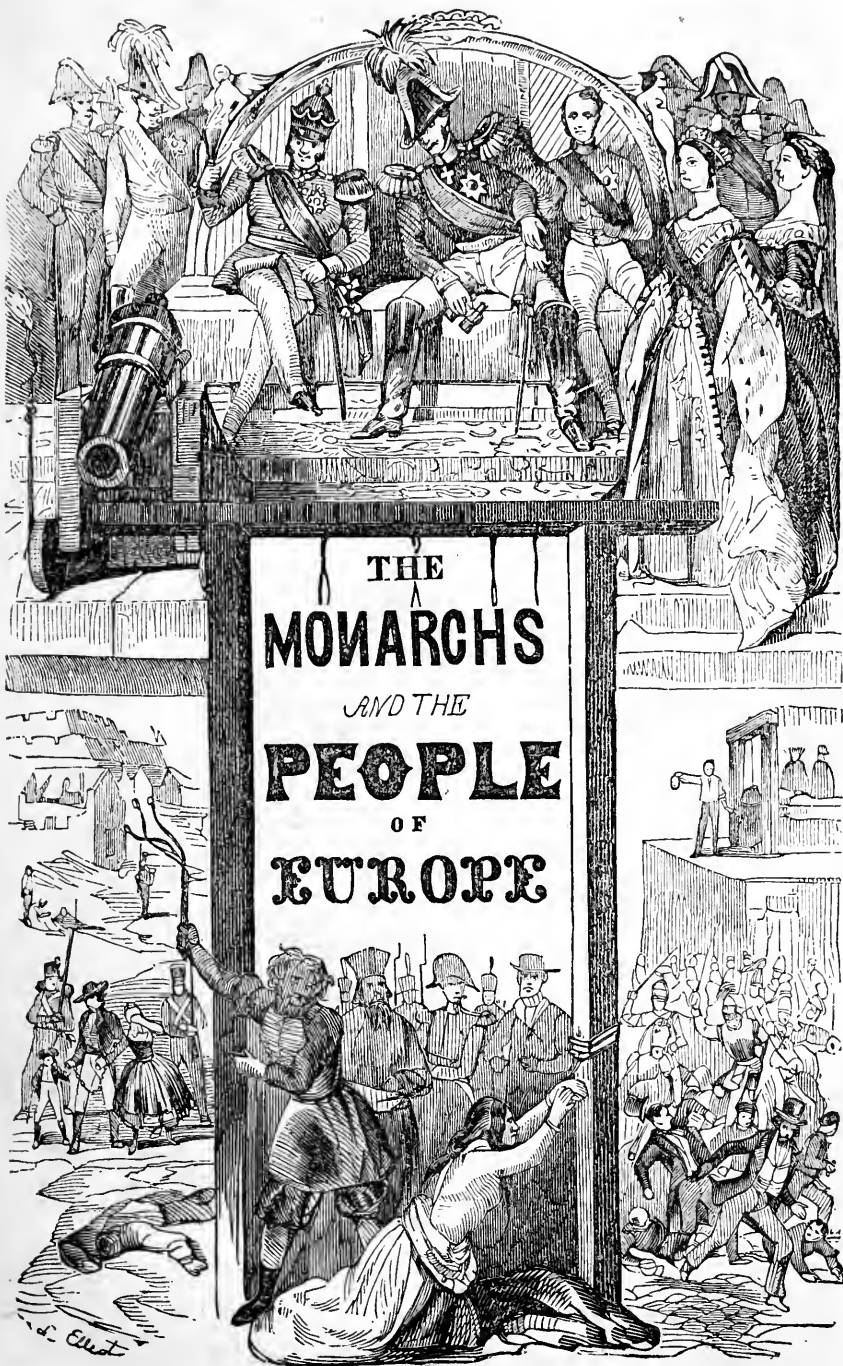




Lazzaroni Sacking Naples.









THE  
MONARCHS  
AND THE  
PEOPLE OF EUROPE:

*Their Condition, Resources, and Attitude with  
Respect to Each Other:*

COMPRISING  
A REVIEW OF THE RECENT REVOLUTIONS AND THE  
PRESENT STATE OF EACH COUNTRY.

By JOHN FROST, LL.D.

AUTHOR OF "PICTORIAL HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES," "LIVES OF THE AMERICAN GENERALS,"  
"HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS OF ALL NATIONS," ETC.

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PUBLISHED BY O. D. CASE & CO.  
1853.

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Louis Philippe.

## THE MONARCHS AND PEOPLE OF EUROPE.

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### CHAPTER I.

#### THE STATE OF EUROPE AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF 1848.

THE year 1848 was probably the most eventful and exciting since the period of Borodino and Moscow. The number and importance of its political changes, the violent shock which it gave to the framework of European society, and the singular ebb and flow of opinion and success among the two great parties of the continent, press it upon the mind for attentive study. Never was there a year so pregnant with instruction and with warning—so rich in all the materials of wisdom both for sovereigns and for people—so crowded with wrecks and ruins, with the ruins of ancient grandeur, and the wrecks of glorious anticipations—so filled with splendid promises and paltry

realizations, with hopes brilliant and fantastic as fairy-land, with disappointments dismal and bitter as the grave. Thrones, which but yesterday had seemed based upon the everlasting hills, shattered in a day; sovereigns whose wisdom had become a proverb, and sovereigns whose imbecility had been notorious, alike flying from their capitals, and abdicating without a natural murmur or a gallant struggle; rulers, who had long been the embodiment of obstinate resistance to all popular demands, vying with each other in the promptitude and the extent of their concessions; statesmen of the longest experience, the deepest insight, the acutest talent—statesmen like Metternich and Guizot—baffled, beaten, and chased away, and reaching their foreign banishment only to turn and gaze with a melancholy and bewildered air on the overthrow of schemes and systems of policy, the construction of which had been the labour of a lifetime; eminent men sinking into obscurity, and going out like snuff; obscure men rising at one bound into eminence and power; ambitious men finding the objects of their wildest hopes suddenly placed within their grasp; Utopian dreamers staggered and intoxicated by seeing their most gorgeous visions on the point of realization; patriots beholding the sudden and miraculous advent of that liberty which they had prayed for, fought for, suffered for, through years of imprisonment, poverty, and exile; nations, which had long pined in darkness, dazzled and bewildered by the blaze of instantaneous light; the powerful smitten with impotence; the peasant and the bondsman endowed with freedom and unresisted might; the first last and the last first;—such were the strange phenomena of that marvellous era, which took away the breath of the beholder, which the journalist was unable to keep pace with, and “which panting Time toiled after in vain.”

The year opened with apparent tranquillity. In two quarters only of Europe had there been any indications of the coming earthquake; and to both of these the eyes of all friends of freedom were turned with hopeful interest and earnest sympathy. The first dawn of a new day had

arisen in a country where least of all it could have been looked for—in Rome. There, in a state long renowned for the most corrupt, imbecile, mischievous administration of the western world, a new Pope, in the prime of life, full of respect for his sacred office, and deeply impressed with the solemn responsibilities of his high position, set himself with serious purpose and a single mind, though with limited views and inadequate capacities, to the task of cleansing those Augean stables from the accumulated filth of centuries. He commenced reform—where reform, though most rare, is always the most safe—from above; he purified the grosser parts of the old administrative system; he showed an active determination to put down all abuse, and to give his people the benefit of a really honest government; he ventured on the bold innovation, in itself a mighty boon and a strange progress, of appointing laymen to offices of state; and, finally, he convoked a representative assembly, and gave the Romans a constitution—the first they had seen since the days of Rienzi. His people were, as might have been anticipated, warmly grateful for the gifts, and enthusiastically attached to the person of their excellent pontiff; all Europe looked on with delight; Pio Nono was the hero of the day; and every thing seemed so safe, so wise, so happy, that we felt justified in hoping that a new day had really dawned upon the ancient capital of the world.

Sicily, too, had about the same time entered upon a struggle to recover some portion of her promised freedom and her stolen rights. Her wrongs had been so flagrant, so manifold, so monstrous; the despotism under which she groaned was at once so incapable, so mean, so low, so brutal; her condition was so wretched, and her capabilities so vast, that the sympathies of the world went with her in her struggle with her false and bad oppressor. All ranks of her citizens were unanimous in their resolution of resistance; even the priests, elsewhere the ready tools of tyranny, here fought on the side of the people, and blessed the arms and banners of the reformers; and, what was still more remarkable, and of more

hopeful augury, all classes seemed to put mutual jealousies aside, and to be actuated by the same spirit of sincere, self-denying, self-sacrificing patriotism. Their demands were moderate but firm, and so reasonable, that the mere fact of such demands having to be made was an indelible disgrace to Naples. So far, too, their course had been singularly cautious; they had committed no blunder, they had displayed no sanguinary passion, and no violent excitement, and it was impossible not to hope every thing from a contest so wisely conducted, and so unimpeachably just. At length, on the 8th of February, the Sicilians having been everywhere victorious, the preliminaries of an arrangement with the King of Naples were agreed to, on the basis of the constitution of 1812.\*

Meanwhile, spurred or warned by the example of the pope and the enthusiasm of the Romans, other Italian princes bowed to the feeling of the time, and took some steps in the path of reform. The King of Sardinia, the Grand-duke of Tuscany, and the King of Naples, promised constitutions, written and precise, to their subjects, and actually adopted measures for making their promises effective. The popular enthusiasm reached Lombardy. Movements took place at Milan, but they were crushed by the Austrian government with even more than wonted promptitude and severity. Bayonets and discipline proved too much for unguided zeal.

For some years, Hungary had been making great strides toward national reform, under the influence of the eloquent statesmen, Wesselenyi and Kossuth. The Hungarians claimed to have a constitution nine centuries of age, and upon it sought to found their national independence. They also strove to free themselves from the weight of feudal privileges. In the emancipation of the peasantry, the nobility generally evinced a liberal and patriotic spirit. Their conduct is unparalleled in the history of feudal countries. Austria exerted herself to silence all expression of the liberal

\* North British Review.

independent opinions of the Hungarians. It was evident that open rupture was at hand.

The condition of things in Germany and Italy, as well as in France and England, when the great shock occurred, may be thus delineated:—In all four countries there was much suffering and much discontent; but the malecontents and the sufferers belonged to different classes in society. In England and in France the lower orders were the chief malecontents; and unquestionably, especially in the latter country, they had much to complain of, and much to endure. Difficulty of obtaining subsistence, actual and severe privation in the present, and no more hopeful prospects for the future, darkened the lot and soured the temper of hundreds of thousands of the people. The more fortunate saw little before them beyond strenuous and ceaseless toil, from early morning till late evening, from precocious childhood to premature decrepitude. The less fortunate often sought toil in vain, dug for it as for hidden treasure, and found it, when obtained, uncertain and unremunerative. A class—often a very numerous class—had grown up among them, whom defective social arrangements had left without any means of subsistence, beyond habitual crime and the godsend of occasional insurrection.

Nearly all of these were more or less uneducated, with passions unsoftened by culture, and appetites sharpened by privation—excitable, undisciplined, and brutal. Such were always ready for any social or political convulsion—prompt to aid and aggravate it, certain to complicate and disgrace it. It is a fearful addition to the perplexities and horrors of a revolution when the mass of the nation are destitute and wretched. Germany and Italy were in a singular measure free from this element of confusion; and in so far their path was wonderfully clear and easy. In Germany, the orderly, industrious, and simple habits of the peasantry; the general possession of land by the rural portion of them, especially in the Prussian provinces; the relics of the old distribution of artisans into guilds; the watchful care of the numberless bureaucratic governments to prevent the too rapid increase

of this, or indeed of any class; the systematic care of Austria, especially to keep the lower classes in a state of material comfort; the habit in some states, as Bavaria, of requiring a certificate of property as a preliminary to marriage—had combined to prevent poverty, except in rare cases, from degenerating into destitution, so that there was, generally speaking, little physical distress or suffering among the mass. The diffusion of elementary education too, (such as it was, for we are no amateurs of the continental system in such matters,) prevented the existence of such utterly savage and ignorant masses as were to be met with in France, and unhappily in England also. The same exemption from squalid misery which in Germany was due to care, system, and culture, was bestowed upon the Italians by their genial climate, their fertile soil, and their temperate and frugal habits, so that though there was often poverty—though poverty, and, as we in America should regard it, poverty of the extremest kind, was frequent, and in Rome and Naples almost universal—still, that actual want of the bread of to-day, and that anxiety for the bread of to-morrow, which make men ready for any violence or commotion, were in the greater part of Italy comparatively rare. In Tuscany and Lombardy, more especially, the utterly destitute and starving were a class quite unknown.

In both countries, therefore, the discontented and aspiring class—the makers of revolutions—were the educated and the well to-do; men whose moral, not whose material, wants were starved and denied by the existing system; men of the middle ranks, who found their free action impeded at every step, whose noblest instincts were relentlessly crushed, whose intellectual cravings were famished by the censorship, and whose hungry and avid minds were compelled daily to sit down to a meal of miserable and unrelished pottage; men of the upper classes, whose ambition was cramped into the pettiest sphere, and forced into the narrowest channels, to whom every career worthy of their energies and their patriotism was despotically closed, who were compelled to waste



their life and fritter away their powers in the insipid pleasures of a spiritless society, in metaphysical speculation, or antiquarian research. Hence, with all its faults, the revolution in Germany and in Italy had a far nobler origin, and a loftier character than that of France; it was the revolt not of starved stomachs, but of famished souls; it was the protest of human beings against a tyranny by which the noblest attributes of humanity were affronted and suppressed; it was the recoil from a listless and unsatisfying life by men who felt that they were made for, and competent to, a worthier existence; it was a rebellion of hearts who loved their country, against a system by which that country was dishonoured, and its development impeded; it was not the work of passionate, personal, and party aims, but of men who, however wild their enthusiasm, however deplorable their blunders, still set before them a lofty purpose, and worshipped a high ideal.

The *mouvement* party (to borrow an expressive phrase from the French) is composed in different countries of characteristically different materials. The busy ex-parliamentary reformers; the radicals, who take one grievance or anomaly after another, and agitate and grumble till they have procured its abolition; who have either originated or been the means of carrying each successive measure of reform, are in England almost exclusively composed of the active and practical men of the middle classes—merchants and manufacturers, educated enough to be able to comprehend the whole bearings of the case, but distrusting theory, eschewing abstractions, and too well trained in the actual business of life to be in much danger from disproportionate enthusiasm; shopkeepers and tradesmen, not perhaps masters of the political importance or full scope of the question at issue, but quick to detect its bearing on their personal interests, bringing to its examination a strong, if a somewhat narrow, common sense, observing a due proportion between their means and their ends, and never, in the heat of contest, losing sight of the main chance;—these constitute the centre and the

leaders of the movement party in England, and have imparted to all their innovations that character for distinctness of purpose, sobriety of aim, and practicality of result, which has always marked them. In France the *mouvement* party has been composed of the politicians by profession or by taste; of the amateurs and adventurers of public life; of journalists, who had each their pet crotchet and their special watchword, and who attained in that country a degree of personal influence which is without parallel elsewhere; of men to whom the Republic was a passion; of men to whom it was a dream; of men to whom it opened a vista rich in visions of pillage and of pleasure. It was a vast heterogeneous congeries of all the impatient suffering, of all the fermenting discontent, of all the unchained and disreputable passions, of all the low, and of all the lofty ambition of the community. In Germany, again, the *mouvement* party was composed, in overwhelming proportion, of the *Burschenschaft*—of students and professors, of young dreamers and their dreaming guides—men qualified beyond all others to conceive and describe a glorious Utopia, but disqualified beyond all others to embody it in actual life. It is curious to observe how everywhere throughout the German revolutions, the collegians were prominent. The students led the struggle at Berlin; the Academic Legion was for some time the ruling body at Vienna; the Frankfort Assembly was, as has been characterized, “an anarchy of professors.” We do not mean to say, that the revolutionary movement was not joined and sympathized with by numbers in all ranks and classes—though it is important to observe, that, from the peculiar system of educational training in Germany, all these had gone through the same discipline, and been subject to the same influences; but the tone of the movement was given, its course directed, and its limit decided, by learned men, whom a life of university seclusion and theoretic studies had precluded from the possession of all practical experience, and by young men fresh from the scenes and the heroes of classic times, and glowing with that wild enthusiasm, that passionate

but unchastened patriotism, those visions of an earthly Eden and a golden age, and that unreasoning devotion to every thing that bears the name or usurps the semblance of liberty, which at their age it would be grievous *not* to find. Finally, in Italy, the leaders of the new Reformation were men of as pure and lofty enthusiasm, but of far finer capacities, and of a sterner and firmer make of mind, but equally untrained in political administration, and with a task beyond their means;—men, not indeed finished statesmen or accurate philosophers, because debarred from that *education of action* which alone can complete the training of the statesman and test the principles of the thinker—but of the materials out of which the noblest statesmen and the profoundest philosophers are made;—many of them

Of the canvas which men use  
To make storm stay-sails;

many of them exhibiting powers for government and war which need only a fairer field to obtain their full appreciation.

It is natural that political changes, emanating from bodies so variously constituted as these, should be widely different in their nature and objects, and be crowned with very various degrees of success. In Italy and Germany the patriots had one almost insuperable difficulty to contend with. In both countries the fatal system of bureaucracy had paralyzed the energies and dwarfed the political capacities of the people. In Germany they had been ruled like children—in Italy like victims or like vanquished slaves. But in both countries the whole province of administration, even in its lowest branches, had been confided to a separate class, set apart and trained to that profession, and directed and controlled from headquarters. The people could do nothing except by official permission and under official supervision; long disuse produced inevitable disqualification; long inaction inevitable incapacity;—till, when the crisis arrived, it appeared that the old established functionaries were the only men capable of

practical action. When the power was suddenly thrown into the hands of the inexperienced classes, none could be found among them—in Germany at least—competent to use it. In the south of Italy the old functionaries had always been so abominably bad, that even the most incompetent and fresh of the new aspirants could not possibly make worse administrators. But in Germany the fact was as unquestionable as humiliating; and one of the most important lessons inculcated by the time was the utter inadequacy of the best contrived system of national or college education for supplying political training. The lower portion of the middle classes in Germany receive a far more complete and careful education in literary and scientific matters than the same portion in England, and in the instruction of the working-classes there is (or was lately) no comparison; yet the municipal councils, vestry meetings, boards of guardians, numberless voluntary associations, form normal schools for statesmen and administrators to which the continent presents no analogies, and for which unhappily it can furnish no substitutes, and the want of which was most deeply felt in 1848.

Prior to the “year of revolutions,” but one State in Germany possessed a free constitution, and that was Hesse Cassel. This written instrument was granted by the elector Frederick William, in January 1831, and it remained to the people in spite of the arts of that ruler, even through the struggles of despotism throughout Europe prior to 1847. The supremacy of law, and taxation by representatives of the people, alone were secured by this constitution. It was like a free breath of air in a close room.

The condition of the people of France and the British isles before 1848, is better known and understood than the affairs of the people of the rest of Europe. Louis Philippe had proved recreant to the principles of 1830. The press of France was gagged. The law of libel was executed with such severity as to prevent that freedom of speech for which the nation had so often striven. Public instruction was a monopoly secured to the University, that is, to the govern-

ment, by one of the earliest enactments of ministerial despotism; and the spirit in which the law was devised and administered was soon tested in the case of the Count de Montalembert, M. de Caux, and the Abbé Lacordaire, who were indicted and fined 100 francs for opening a free school in 1831. Are those who sound M. Guizot's praises, and boast of what he has done for the cause of education—are they aware that in 1844 one-half the inhabitants of France were unable to read or write; that 7,000,000 could read imperfectly, and could not write; that 7,000,000 could do both, but imperfectly; and that only 3,000,000 were fully educated? This was no very grand result to be obtained by an annual expenditure of about £380,000. But another purpose was served by the system; if it kept the poor in ignorance, it enabled the government to mingle a large portion of error with the education given in the superior schools, and to keep in pay an army of placemen. Russia, the most backward in education of all *quasi*-civilized nations, has a very showy, extensive, and costly system of public instruction.

The army of France was large, and under the control of the government. Bayonets maintained silence and crushed all attempts at insurrection. The working-classes groaned under the load of taxation. In spite of their hard and wearing toil, they were threatened with starvation. To people in such a condition, death, the worst thing to be feared from attempts at insurrection, ceased to be terrible. They eagerly listened to socialist and communist theories, which were enthusiastically advocated by Prudhomme and others, and secretly formed clubs for the discussion of the means of obtaining their rights. They even ventured to hold "reform banquets," at which the republican leaders of 1789 were toasted, eulogized, and held up as examples worthy of imitation. The measures of the firm and keen Guizot, the real head of the government, proved ineffectual; these demonstrations could not be repressed. The opposition in the Deputies daily grew in numbers and boldness of speech. Thiers, Lamartine, Ledru Rollin, Odillon Barrot, and others,

leading liberals, denounced the measures of the government and demanded reform. Guizot remained firm. A fierce struggle, but not a complete revolution, was anticipated by the ministry, and it was thought the government could brave the storm with ease.

The revolution of February found France already on the verge of bankruptcy. The public debt (deducting the sinking fund), which in January, 1841, was 4,267,315,402 francs, had risen on the 1st of January 1848, to 5,179,644,730 francs. The budget, which in 1830 was 1,014,914,000 francs, was settled for 1847 at 1,712,979,639 francs. And, notwithstanding a successive increase of receipts, the budget showed a considerable annual deficit. From 1840 to 1847, the expense outstripped the receipts by 604,525,000 francs; in other words, an addition of 24,000,000 sterling was made to the national debt in the space of seven years. During the last 268 days of its existence, the fallen government expended beyond its ordinary resources £44,000 per diem.

Such a financial system absorbed all the resources of the people, and abstracted from them all the means of bettering their condition, improving in industrial, agricultural, and commercial pursuits, and advancing in instruction and morality. "Let it not be said that the greater proportions of the taxes bore upon the rich; it was quite the contrary. Most of them were almost exclusively paid by the poorer classes and the tradespeople. The 750,000,000 francs produced by the excise, the tax on salt, the customs, and the stamp duty, fell entirely upon these classes; which, besides, participated in a due proportion in the payment of the other taxes. The fact cannot be controverted, and official returns, carefully collated, prove that the total amount of taxes paid by the ruling or governmental class, the 240,000 electors and jurymen, never exceeded 54,000,000 francs; that is [less than] the twentieth part of the whole amount of the contributions levied upon the people. In England, the rich man pays in some degree for the gratification of his pride, of his tastes, for the enjoyment of his pleasure, and for his luxuries: he pays for his





Fergus O'Connor.

servants, for his carriage, for his horses, for his hounds, for sporting a coronet, a helmet, a buck's head, or any other family devices. In France, such taxes were not known; but then the beverage of the artisans, the spade of the labourer, the axe of the woodman, paid 100 per cent. of their value.

In the British isles, a strong radical party existed, which increased in strength and clamour with the increase of distress among the working-classes. In all the cities and towns this party was numerous, while it could command a respectable vote in parliament. Universal suffrage, vote by ballot, annual parliaments, and the separation of church and state were its principal demands. Joseph Hume, Richard Cobden, and Fergus O'Connor, were its leaders in parliament. The party

assumed the name of Chartists. Meetings were held in nearly all the towns in England, violent speeches made, and a formidable organization effected.

The state of things in Ireland was deplorable. The failure of crops, famine, and pestilence, and all the evils resulting from absenteeism and taxation, caused in 1847 the very extremity of national misery. The Repeal Association reorganized, and set its engine to work to procure a separate government for Ireland. Monster meetings were held in various parts of the island. Smith O'Brien, Thomas Meagher, John Mitchell, and others renewed the mighty toil to which Robert Emmet had fallen a sacrifice. These men went so far as to cause military companies to be formed, and the mass of the people were drilled for a deadly struggle. The result of all this unwise and dreadful preparation shall be hereafter narrated.

Most of the other countries of Europe which we have not noticed were not affected by the shock of revolution in 1848. Russia, under the energetic rule of Nicholas, remained firm and quiet. Her peasantry suffered from the tyranny of the nobles, but had not the spirit and intelligence to attempt to throw off the oppressive yoke. Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, were not affected by the convulsion. Perhaps, Russian diplomacy prevailed in those three countries; but the burdens of the masses were not sufficiently grievous to cause them to rise against their masters. The Turks love their government and institutions too well to think of change. The Swiss were and are free. The Greeks were passive under the paw of Russia. Holland and Belgium were thrown into the turbulent waves of revolution, soon after the French movement, and came out healthier and sounder. In each of these kingdoms a liberal party existed, consisting of intelligent and determined men. Yet before the February revolution in France, the monarchs were all-powerful, placing chains upon speech as well as action. Spain and Portugal were passive under the dark tyranny of church and state. Thus stood Europe waiting for the thunder-clap.



Guizot.

## CHAPTER II.

## THE FRENCH REVOLUTION OF FEBRUARY, 1848.

AT the commencement of 1848, M. Guizot could command a majority of seventy-eight in the Chamber of France. Nearly two-thirds of his supporters were office-holders—persons fed from the government granary; and, therefore, not likely to do any thing in opposition to the minister's will. Is it wonderful that the country should have insisted upon a reform of this mockery of legislative freedom? A very moderate concession would have satisfied the opposition; they only asked for a reduction of the two hundred officials forming the ministerial majority, and the paltry addition of 20,000 electors to the 240,000 already on the lists. The king and his ministers, in the royal speech, attributed these very modest demands to "blind and hostile passions." The peers almost unanimously, and the deputies by a large majority, re-echoed the royal

insult; but eight days had hardly elapsed before king, peers, deputies, disappeared from the government stage.

The refusal of such slight concessions as the opposition requested, was given at a moment when all France was filled with disgust and indignation at disclosures of venality and corruption existing in high places. Several cases had been brought to the decision of courts, which threw a foul stigma upon the royal family and the aristocracy. That the government should persevere in its despotic course, in full view of the distress and disgust of the people, is sufficient proof that the obstinacy of Guizot outweighs his wisdom.

After holding sixty-two reform banquets in various parts of France, and omitting to toast the king at each one, the opposition deputies determined to hold a monster banquet at Paris. Louis Philippe and his ministers forthwith resolved to put down these insolent contemners of royalty—these “everlasting foes of order.” Military preparations were made on the most extensive scale; guns were mounted on all the fortresses round Paris. Large stores of ammunition were provided, and nothing seemed wanting to enable the government to crush any attempt at insurrection on the part of the people of Paris. These arrangements being made, the king prepared to meet the chambers with a bold front, in the full assurance that he was once more about to signalize the triumph of might over right. However, his address upon the 1st of January, 1848, was coldly and silently received.

The debate on the address, in reply to the royal speech, was protracted through no fewer than nineteen sittings. The ministers declared their intention to prohibit the Reform Banquet. The opposition members announced their determination to attend it, notwithstanding; and both parties appealed to the law in justification of their respective views. The 291st article of the Penal Code enacts, that—

“No association of more than twenty persons, the object of which is to meet every day, or on certain fixed days, to occupy itself with religious, literary, political objects, or others, can be formed without the assent of the government,

and under the conditions which the public authority may impose on the society."

This enactment was reconsidered and extended subsequently to the Revolution of July, in the year 1834, when another law was passed providing that this article of the Penal Code might be applied though such associations were divided into sections of less than twenty members, and although they should not meet at fixed times. At the same time the penalties for violating this law were augmented. The question, therefore, between the government and the opposition was, in the first place, one of law. Was, or was not, this legal prohibition applicable to the political meetings which had been held last autumn in various parts of the kingdom, at irregular intervals, by the agents of a political party avowedly acting under the direction of a central electoral committee sitting in Paris? Did the term *association*, which alone occurs in the law, include political meetings of a more uncertain and occasional character?

These questions did not escape the notice of the legislature in 1834, when the law itself was under discussion. On that occasion M. Martin, the reporter of the bill, who afterward himself filled the office of Minister of Justice, expressly stated that "every one knew the difference between an association and a meeting, (*réunion*.) Meetings are caused by unforeseen, temporary occurrences, and cease when the motive ceases. Associations have a determined and permanent object. There exists a tie between the members of an association. *Nobody has yet supposed that meetings (réunions) are affected by Article 291 of the Penal Code. Do not fear that they will be so affected by the law under discussion.*" In the same debate, the then Minister of Justice himself declared that this law was proposed "against associations, and not against those accidental and temporary meetings which have for their object the exercise of a constitutional right." These declarations, which are recorded in the "Moniteur" of the 22d of March, 1834, are certainly at variance with the construction put upon the law by the government; and it was

evident that only by a trial in a court of law could this disputed point of jurisprudence be settled.

The government seemed at last to admit this, and they even condescended to a sort of compromise with the opposition: they gave it to be understood that they would allow the banquet to take place, but under protest. A single commissary of police was to be stationed at the door of the banqueting-hall, to warn those attending of the illegality of their proceedings, and then withdraw. Furthermore, in order in some degree to disarm the opposition, the ministry declared by their official organ, the "Debats," that the question about reform was merely one of time, for that principle was already agreed on by the Cabinet. "The question of Parliamentary Reform will be discussed in all its bearings during the present parliament. Not only will it be solved, but the solution will be what is already known," &c. The reformists treated with contempt this delusive promise, which was to be fulfilled some time or other in the course of a parliament that had five years to run.

On Saturday, February 12th, the several paragraphs of the address having been voted, a division took place on the whole collectively. The opposition in a body abstained from voting, and of 244 votes given there were 241 for Ministers. The opposition deputies assembled next day, and resolved unanimously that they would all attend the proposed banquet, and that no member of their party, even if drawn by lot to present the address to the king, should participate in that ceremony. Subsequently the banquet was fixed to take place on Tuesday the 22d of February.

It was not until a late hour on Monday that the determination of the government not to allow the banquet was made known in the chamber. The debate, which was on the Bordeaux Bank Bill, had attracted but few members, when suddenly, at a little before five o'clock, the doors were thrown open, and two hundred and fifty deputies rushed to their places. In five minutes the chamber, almost empty before, was filled in every part. Odillon Barrot then rose and said, "The chamber



Odillon Barrot.

must remember that, when the Address was under consideration here, a discussion took place relative to the right insisted on by us, and denied by the government, of meeting together, on condition of previously informing the authorities, and of assembling without tumult and without arms. That question was not decided. My opinion is, that it ought to have been settled by the Chambers; for when a constitutional question of such great importance is brought forward, the duty of parliament is not to leave it in doubt—for to it belongs the task of regulating the political rights of citizens. This question ought therefore to have been decided; but it was not so. However, an imperative duty remained for those who maintain that the right of meeting is one of those liberties which a citizen cannot allow himself to be despoiled of without compromising all the others; and that was, to set forth, in presence of the pretensions of the government, a solemn protest,—in fact, to exercise that right in such a manner, as that on their part, at least, there should be no

concession ; that is, with the firm resolution not to stop short, except before some invincible obstacle. That arrangement had been accepted. We thought that the government, believing itself armed with sufficient laws, intended to carry before the tribunals such persons as should persist in claiming the right of meeting, and of having the legality of that right in that manner decided ; matters would so have passed over with calm, and without disturbance. The public, no doubt, was exceedingly occupied with the matter, as it could not remain indifferent to a dispute, on the issue of which depended the most precious of its rights, since from it flowed all the rest. Yet, notwithstanding this profound and most natural emotion of the public, I do not hesitate to declare that the contest would have been in every respect according to law, and exempt from all trouble and disturbance. (Denial from the centres.) I am convinced that, however severe a blow the policy of the government might have received from the manifestation, public order would never have been a moment troubled. But it now appears, that to counsels of wisdom and prudence have succeeded other suggestions ; that acts of authority relative to a disturbance which may be called into existence, appear to establish that force is to be opposed to the peaceful exercise of an evident right. It does not belong to me at present to remark on the opportuneness of the measures taken by the authorities. I fear that these measures, though said to be dictated by a care for order, may, on the contrary, become the cause of disturbance. The manifestation, peaceably effected, would have calmed down men's minds ; but now the very opposite effect will be produced, and an indefinite germ of perturbation and disorder will be left behind. If my voice could exercise any influence on the country, I would say to it,—‘The first necessity, the first duty of all, is to employ every possible means to prevent the evils which imprudent measures may produce.’ It is that thought, gentlemen, which I have considered it necessary to express before this grave assembly—if it depended on me to appease the agitation which I foresee, I should do



so with all the energy of my patriotism. (Hear, hear.) But there my powers cease,—I cannot say any thing further. It is to the Ministry that belongs the care of watching over public order, and it is to it that belongs the responsibility of what may happen.” (Loud approbation from the left: great agitation.)

The Minister of the Interior (Duchatel) replied.—“The responsibility of which the honourable deputy speaks does not fall on the government alone,—it applies to every one (hear, hear); and we have a manifest proof of the fact in the highly creditable care which M. O. Barrot himself has exhibited, in expressing the sentiments which the Chamber has just heard. I shall very frankly and very clearly declare what is the present attitude of the government, and on what ground it has taken up its stand. (Hear, hear.) M. O. Barrot has told you that the question of an unlimited right of meeting has been discussed in this Chamber, but not decided—that he had been anxious for a solution, and that it was in order that such a result might be come to that a banquet was announced and prepared; he added, that the government itself had appeared disposed, as much as it depended on it, within the limit of its opinion, which is opposed to that of M. O. Barrot, to lead to the judicial solution which could settle the dispute. All that is true: we could, reckoning on the right which we consider as incontestible, and on the practice which has never been called in question—we could, I say, have prevented, by the employment of force, the banquet announced for several days, and which has disturbed and agitated the capital. We were struck, like the honourable gentleman, with the advantage which would accrue to every one from obtaining a decision in a court of law; and while we maintained the principles expressed in this tribune by the government, we were ready to permit matters to arrive at the point when, a contravention having evidently taken place, a case for decision in a court of law could follow. (Hear, hear.) But, gentlemen, the matter has changed. I believe that there is not a single person in this Chamber who has not

this morning read a manifesto, published by a committee, (the members of which are not mentioned,) and inserted in all the opposition journals. What is the purport of that manifesto? It does not confine itself to speaking of the banquet, and preparing the judicial solution of the question—no, it makes an appeal to all those who profess opposition principles, and invites them to a manifestation which I have no hesitation in declaring would compromise the tranquillity of the capital. Nor is that all: the manifesto, in contempt of every law—in contempt, in particular, of that of 1831—calls on the National Guards to assemble; and not only that, but invites the students of the schools, young men under age, to join the *cortège*, which is to be defended, as it were, by the National Guards of the 12th Legion; it announces that the National Guards are to be placed in the order of their legions, and under the conduct of their officers. Such a manifesto violates all the laws of the country, on which tranquillity and public order depend. (Hear, hear.) The law relative to mob assemblages is clearly violated by it, as is that relative to the National Guard. (Hear, hear.) I appeal to the impartiality of this Chamber, and I ask, what else is this manifesto but the proclamation of a government wishing to place itself by the side of the regular one of the country? A government emanating from a committee, of which I know nothing, taking the place of the constitutional government founded by the charter, and supported by the majority of the two Chambers, takes on itself to speak to the citizens, to call out the National Guard, to provoke assemblages of the people in the public streets. That cannot be permitted; it is our duty not to allow such things to exist! (Hear, hear.) We are responsible for the maintenance of public order. I hope, like M. O. Barrot, that it will not be troubled; but I should not answer for its not being so if the government did not take all the precautions that it deems necessary, since I have not the same faith as the honourable deputy in those who might take part in the manifestation. (Hear, hear, from the centres; disapprobation from the left.) I now sum up what

I meant to say,—we have on this occasion acted a just part by every one. Until the manifesto of this morning, we maintained the situation which the government had taken on the discussion of the Address: we were inclined to allow the question to be decided judicially, but cannot permit a government suddenly got up to exist in the face of the legal and constitutional government of the country.” (Loud approbation from the centre.)

M. O. Barrot.—“I fear that the honourable minister is deservedly exaggerating matters. (Murmurs, and cries of yes, yes, from the left.) If the honourable minister had merely declared that a solemn manifestation, in which a great part of the population was to take part, could disquiet the government, and disquiet it the more that all would be regular and peaceful, (no, no!) I think that he would be nearer the truth. But, I may ask, while leaving aside some expressions in the document, and which I neither avow nor disavow (great interruption)—I avow most loudly the intention of the document, but I disavow the language used—when men summon a great concourse of citizens together, would they not fail in their duty if they did not adopt every possible means to preserve order? If, in our country, great meetings cannot take place unless when regulated by the official authorities, why, I suppose, they must even submit to such regulations; but, in free countries, it is usual for such meetings to lay down their own rules for preserving order: and, on the occasion of the present manifestation, the men who took part in the matter were anxious that as great a number as possible of respectable citizens—of the National Guards—should be present, to impose on those who could have any idea of disorder, and hence they were invited. You say that the National Guards were invited to join with arms, (denial from the centres,) but that was not the case: you are fighting against a mere chimerical supposition, (denial from the centres.) Thanks to the progress of our political habits, thanks to the intelligence of the country, I can give you the utmost assurance that order would not have been troubled. You, by an unexpected com-

pression, by a state of siege which you do not even pretend to dissemble, you add to the difficulties of a position already too much strained. Now, on you, and on you alone, be the responsibility of such conduct. (Exclamations from the centre.) You are not willing to have order with and by means of liberty: undergo, then, the consequences of what you have done." (Great agitation.)

The Minister of the Interior.—"Had I any occasion for proofs to justify the determination come to by the government, I should find them in the very words of the honourable gentleman. This manifesto, which he accuses us of having grossly exaggerated, he neither avows nor disavows. (Movement.) When the manifesto is neither avowed nor disavowed, can it be considered a subject of security by us who are charged to maintain public order? Is it a subject of security to see a manifesto published which provokes a violation of the law, and which M. O. Barrot dares not venture to say he avows? (Agitation.) But the honourable gentleman declares that what is complained of are mere matters of police regulations, adopted spontaneously to prevent any disturbances that might take place: consequently, there existed the elements of disturbance, or else why adopt such regulations? (Denial on the left.) Disorder was therefore nearer than was supposed. (Hear, hear.) I ask, when were self-constituted committees admitted to have the mission of calling out the National Guards in order to maintain order?" (Loud denial on the left, and disapprobation.)

M. de Courtais.—"Will you dare to call out the National Guard? Only try it!" (Exclamations from the centre.)

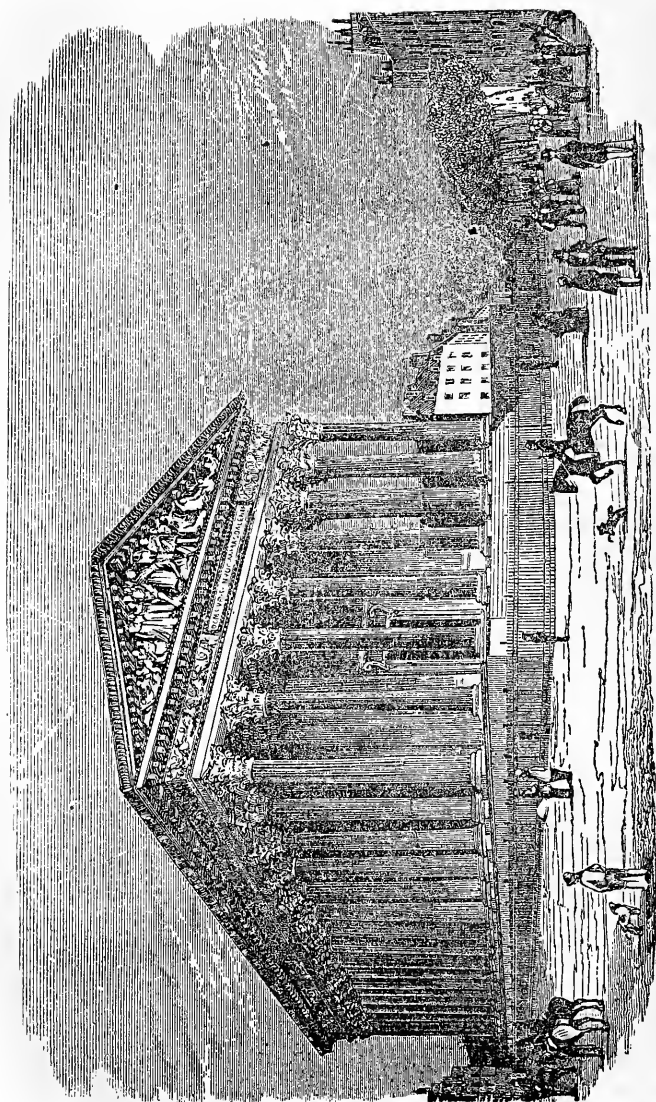
The Minister of the Interior.—"I listened to M. O. Barrot with great attention, and I declare to him that I regard most seriously the responsibility which weighs on us. The Chamber will do me this justice, that I have not, in this discussion, employed any irritating expression. (Hear, hear.) I might have deemed myself authorized to make use of recriminatory language, for it appeared to me that it was intimated that we wanted to conceal behind a question of public order the ques-

tion of ministerial existence, and that we were anxious to exaggerate the proportions of an incident exceedingly grave in itself, in order to advance our own interest; but I have not considered it fit to employ any recrimination: being, above all, the guardian of public order and of the law, I shall content myself with merely saying that we cannot admit the system which the honourable deputy has advocated in this tribune, nor can we admit either that there is any just cause to complain of that pretended compression which is really destined only to prevent acts evidently contrary to the law. I maintain what I said just now. We are willing to allow matters to reach a point at which the judicial question may intervene. That situation we had taken up, and we still maintain it. Call that, if you please, violence and compression, but it is not so: it is the only thing that can be reasonably called for by every one—it is the performance of the duties of the government, the maintenance of order, and the respect for the laws, on which the tranquillity of the country and safety of our institutions depend.” (Approbation; great agitation.)

Here the matter dropped, and the Chamber adjourned at six o'clock, in a perfect tumult.

Immediately after, the opposition deputies held a meeting and drew up a manifesto, declaring their intention to abandon the banquet, and advising the citizens to pursue the same course; but expressing their determination to struggle with renewed energy for the recognition of the right of meeting. The deputies thus sought to throw the entire responsibility of disorder upon the government. The Parisians, were greatly dissatisfied at the want of firmness displayed by M. Odillon Barrot, and many abused him in the most unmeasured terms, declaring that he was “too timid, and too rich,” to be a popular leader at such a crisis.

On Tuesday, the people were greatly excited, and vast crowds collected in the streets. But the garrison of Paris had been increased to 100,000 men, with supplies, and disciplined; and no great movement was made during the day.



Church of the Madeleine.

As early as ten o'clock, however, a crowd collected at the Chamber of Deputies, and compelled to retire before the troops did so, crying, "*Vive la Réforme !*" "*A bas Guizot !*" and singing the stirring "*Marsellaise*." In the vicinity of the Church of Madelaine the crowd was dense and formidable, but the dragoons at length succeeded in causing the people to disperse. At one o'clock, the main thoroughfares were clear. But in the neighbourhood of the Hotel of Foreign Affairs, the residence of Guizot, the crowd remained in spite of the Municipal Guard. The charges of the guard did very little damage, and they were laughed at by the people.

The Chamber presented a gloomy aspect. Few deputies were in attendance; the benches of the opposition were completely vacant. M. Guizot arrived at an early hour; he looked pale but confident; he was shortly afterward followed by the Ministers of Finance, Public Instruction, and Commerce. Marshal Bugeaud, who was believed to have accepted the military command of Paris in the event of a revolt, took his seat close to the ministerial bench. The Chamber then resumed the adjourned discussion on the bill relative to the renewal of the privilege of the Bank of Bordeaux. At three o'clock Odillon Barrot entered the hall, accompanied by Messrs. Duvergier, de Hauranne, Marie, Thiers, Garnier Pagès, &c. Their appearance produced some sensation. Shortly afterward M. de Hauranne went up to the President and handed him a paper, supposed to be a proposition for the impeachment of ministers. This paper having been communicated by the President to M. Guizot, the latter, after perusing it, laughed immoderately. MM. Thiers, Dupin, Lamartine, Billault, Crémieux, and the Minister of the Interior and Justice, next made their appearance; but the discussion on the bank bill continued until five o'clock, and no incident of interest occurred. When the discussion terminated, M. Odillon Barrot ascended the tribune, and deposited on the table a formal proposition, to the effect of impeaching ministers, signed by fifty-three deputies. The President, however, adjourned the Chambers without reading it, to the great disappointment of the opposition, but an-



Marshal Bugeaud.

nounced that it should be submitted to the approbation of the bureaux on Thursday.

The Chamber adjourned soon after five o'clock. Up to this time no very serious apprehensions appear to have been entertained as to the result of the day's proceedings. It was a troublesome riot, and that was all. The people were unarmed, and their attempts to cope with one hundred thousand soldiers was a melancholy absurdity! The funds even rose ten centimes, and maintained that advance until the close of the Bourse. Late in the afternoon the government took heart of grace and ventured to call out the National Guard. The *rappel* was beaten at five o'clock, and the man-



ner in which this was done was curious and significant. The drummers, who were preceded and followed by two sections of National Guards, were accompanied by some hundreds of young fellows in blouses, armed with long sticks, and roaring out the favourite cries and songs of the day.

The skirmishing continued until a late hour in the Faubourg St. Antoine; but by midnight all the barricades, erected in the course of the day, had been thrown down, and Paris was throughout the night in the entire possession of the troops, who bivouacked in the streets and market-places.

On Wednesday morning all hackney-coaches, cabs, omnibuses, and every description of public carriage, had disappeared from the streets and the public stands, their owners being warned by the fate of the vehicles which were seized by the populace on Tuesday evening to form barricades, and some of which were burned. The iron railings in several parts of the town were torn down to supply weapons to the populace. This took place at the hotel of the Minister of Marine, in the Place de la Concorde, at the churches of the Assumption and of St. Roque, in the Rue St. Honoré, and elsewhere.

By nine o'clock, the people assembled in considerable numbers in the quarters St. Denis and St. Martin; and at ten o'clock they had succeeded in erecting barricades at the Porte St. Denis, in the Rue de Cléry, in the Rue Neuve St. Eustache, the Rue du Cadran, and the Rue du Petit-Carreau. Conflicts took place at some of these barricades between the populace and the Municipal Guards, and two young men were killed. Several Municipal Guards were pursued to the Place du Caire, by young men armed with sticks. The guards fired and wounded several persons. A woman was killed on the spot. The officer of a platoon of the National Guard, who was on the place, was so indignant, that he cried,—“To arms!” whereupon the Municipal Guard beat a retreat. Two hours later, the Place du Caire was perfectly calm; in fact, not a soul was to be seen except three National Guards in the Passage du Caire.

At the Porte St. Denis the troops charged the people, and the barricade in the Rue Cadran, at the entrance to the Rue Montmartre, was attacked by the Municipal Guards, who fired on the mob, killing a child, and seriously wounding two men and three women.

At twelve o'clock, all the quarter of the markets was fully occupied. There was a battalion of the 21st regiment on the Marche des Innocens, besides detachments of the Municipal Guard, horse and foot, and two detachments of Cuirassiers. Two pieces of cannon were on the spot, one of which was directed towards the Rue Montmartre, the other toward the Rue de la Ferronnerie. They were ready to be employed at a moment's notice. The fish-market was occupied by a battalion of the 1st regiment.

On the Place du Carrousel, the Horse Municipal Guard made repeated charges; but the people, after dispersing on one spot, immediately reassembled on another. At the barricade in the Rue de Clery, which was half-destroyed, the Municipal Guard fired, and several persons were wounded.

The National Guards of the Second Legion began to assemble at an early hour in the Rue Lepelletier, in front of the Opera House. At half-past eleven there were about one hundred and fifty of them collected, and they formed in two lines across the street, one division at each extremity of the theatre. In the centre were the officers; outside, the people frantic with joy. A National Guard being asked what had happened,—“We have declared for Reform,” said he: “that is, some of us differ about reform, but we are all agreed about Guizot. Down with Guizot!” *Vive la Reforme! Vive la Garde Nationale!* cried the people incessantly. An hour afterward the National Guards proceeded, with their *sap-peurs* at their head, in full uniform, to the Tuileries, to declare their sentiments.

They returned about one o'clock, and occupied the Rue Lepelletier again. A platoon closed the street on the Boulevard, and was hailed with shouts of *Vive la Garde Nationale!* A squadron of Cuirassiers, supported by half a squad-

ron of *Chasseurs à cheval*, arrived. The *chef d'escadron* gave orders to draw swords. The ranks of the National Guards closed. The shouts of the people redoubled, although not a man of them was armed. The squadron made a half-movement on the Rue Lepelletier, when the officer in command of the National Guards drew his sword, advanced, and saluted him. A few words were exchanged. They separated. The one placed himself at the head of his soldiers, and gave the word to "wheel and forward," and they resumed their march, accompanied by the cheers and the clapping of hands of the multitude. The officer of the National Guards returned very quietly to his post, and sheathed his sword.

It is said the words exchanged between the officers were these,—“Who are these men?” “They are the people.” “And those in uniform?” “They are the Second Legion of the National Guard of Paris.” “The people must disperse.” “They will not.” “I shall use force.” “Sir, the National Guards sympathize with the people, the people who demand reform.” “They must disperse.” “They will not.” “I must use force.” “Sir, we, the National Guards, sympathize in the desire for reform, and will defend them.”

By half-past two o'clock three more scenes of the same kind had occurred. The Municipal Guards, who occupied the unpopular position of the gendarmes of 1830, were now, by order of the government, mixed up with the troops of the line, on whom the people were lavish of their compliments and caresses. A column of cavalry and infantry, Municipal Guards, and infantry of the line, arrived by the Boulevard at the end of the Rue Lepelletier. They made a move like the others as if to wheel into that street, but the attitude of the National Guard made them pause, and immediately the word was given to continue their march, the people rending the air with cries for reform, for the infantry, and the National Guards. Again a precisely similar occurrence took place, but this time it ended with the absolute retreat of the troops, for they turned around and retired up the Boulevard.

Such was the conduct of the Second Legion of the Na-

tional Guard. The initiative, however, appears to have been taken by the Third Legion, who this morning, at the *mairie* of the third arrondissement—Place des Petits Pères, declared for reform. The Municipal Guards, whose barracks adjoin the church of the Petits Pères, were ordered to disarm them, and advanced to the charge with the bayonets levelled; but the movement was imitated by the National Guard, the bayonets crossed; blood was about to flow, when the colonel of the National Guard, M. Textorix, cried out, "Hold, soldiers! these are the people; respect the people." The effect was electric. The Municipal Guards raised their bayonets, shouldered arms, and marched off.

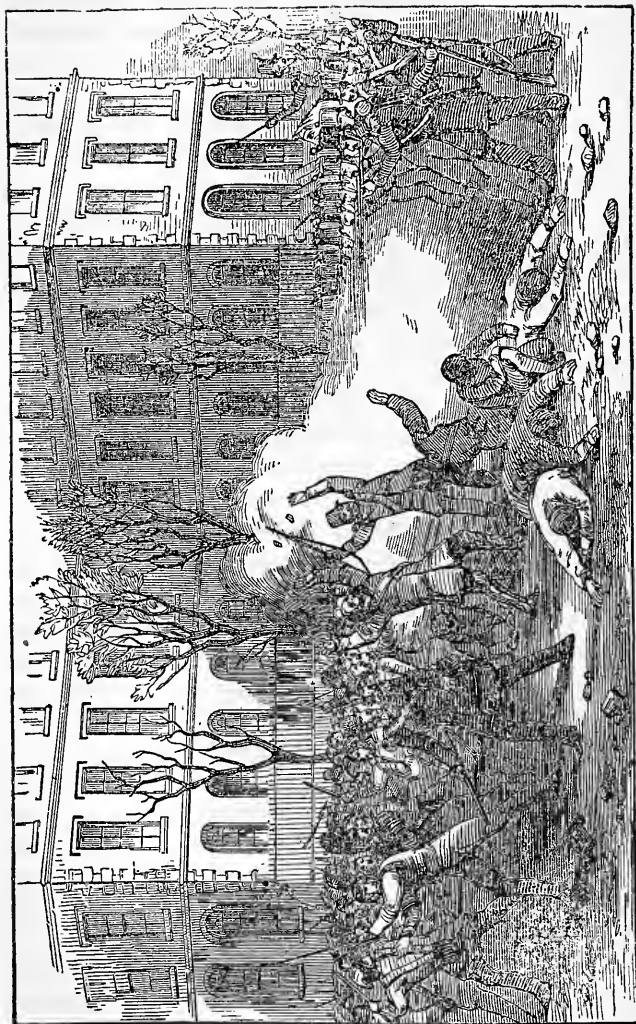
This incident had a powerful influence on the rest of the National Guards of that legion. They almost to a man joined their comrades, and attained the number of three thousand by one o'clock. Their officers having then held a council, agreed to depute their colonel to the king, to acquaint his majesty with the wishes of the National Guard,—in other words, reform and the dismissal of the cabinet. That officer immediately proceeded to the palace, but was not admitted into the royal presence; he only saw General Jacqueminot, the commander-in-chief of the National Guard, who promised that he would that instant carry himself the memorial to the king. The National Guards remained assembled on the square awaiting the return of the colonel, their determination being to march upon the Tuileries if the reply was negative. Occasionally strong patrols were sent out to interpose, if necessary, between the combatants; but no hostilities took place in the neighbourhood, the troops quietly remaining on the adjoining Place des Victories, without giving the least provocation. The Nationals filed by them shouting for reform and the dismissal of ministers, surrounded and followed by an immense mass of people uttering the same cries, and the soldiers of the line by their countenances testified that they concurred in the popular feeling. In one of the by-streets a detachment of troops, stationed there to intercept the passage, were helped to bread and wine

by the people, and their officers looked on, nay, encouraged them to accept the provisions offered to them. The Fourth Legion also took arms, and stationed detachments in different directions to maintain order and prevent the effusion of blood.

The members of the left mustered strong in the Chamber of Deputies this day. M. Vavin, one of the deputies for Paris, rose amidst profound silence, and said that he had a solemn duty to accomplish, which was to call the Minister of the Interior to account for the scenes then passing in the capital. During twenty-four hours serious disturbances had taken place in Paris, and the population remarked with astonishment the absence of the National Guard. On Monday, orders had been given for its attendance. Why had they been countermanded? Why was it only after a first collision that the drummers were permitted to beat to arms? If from the beginning the National Guard had been called out, fatal misfortunes would have been avoided.

M. Guizot, who had shortly before entered the Chamber, immediately rose and said,—“I have nothing to say at the present moment to the questions of the honourable member. The king has sent for Count Molé, who is empowered to form a ministry.” (Loud cries of bravo! and cheers followed the announcement, which appeared to annoy M. Guizot. He then continued.) “We are not to be prevented by such manifestations as those I now hear, as long as we remain in office, which will be till our successors are appointed, from doing our duty. We shall consider ourselves answerable for all that may happen. We shall act in every thing we do, according to our best judgment and our consciences, and according to what we consider the interests of the country.”

Thus fell Guizot, a man of indomitable will, extensive information, and great mental capacity, but most intensely and unscrupulously selfish. His soul was too full of pride to leave room for any other sentiment. He might have been thrust head-foremost into the ocean, and he would not have admitted that he was drowning. He believed in his own infallibility,



Troops firing on the People before Guizot's Hotel.

with a violent and desperate faith.\* He bears the fame of a great statesman. A great *politician* he may have been. He aimed at power and obtained it. But a great statesman should aim at, and reach, something more. National prosperity and influence abroad should be the result of his measures. And such were not the results of Guizot's administration.

The announcement of the resignation of M. Guizot was received with cheers, illuminations, and rejoicings by the people of Paris. All hostile movements ceased, and it was expected that complete tranquillity would be restored. But it occurred to the victors that M. Guizot's hotel ought to be illuminated as well as the houses of his neighbours. A proposition to that effect was made to the soldiers on guard. While the parley was going on, some of the troops were insulted by the more violent of the insurgents. Lagrange, the Lyons conspirator, fired and broke the leg of a lieutenant-colonel's horse. Instantly, without warning, the whole line fired along the Boulevards, making frightful carnage among the inoffensive throng. Fifty-two persons fell, dead or wounded. The people fled in consternation. But fear soon gave way to indignation and the thirst for vengeance. The cry then burst forth from every lip, "To arms! Down with the assassins! Down with Louis Philippe! Down with all his race! Barricades! Barricades!" and these dread sounds were echoed in all the streets of the capital. Another volley was discharged on the crowd in the Rue de la Paix, which still further excited the fury of the people. They returned to the barricades, at which they worked without interruption all night, and next morning there was not a single leading street in the capital which was not a fortress. The drums of the National Guard were beating all night. All the posts of the Municipal Guard were attacked, taken, and their contents burned by the people. Arms were taken wherever they could be found.

\* De Cormenin.



M. Thiers.

The attempt to form a Molé administration failed. The king sent, late at night, to M. Thiers, and asked him to form a ministry. Marshal Bugeaud was appointed commander-in-chief of the National Guard, but finding he was not to have a *carte blanche*, he resigned, and was replaced by General Lamoricière.

Such was the state of Paris on Thursday morning at day-break: and with every successive hour the situation of the government grew more critical. From all sides accounts arrived of the union of the National Guard with the people, and (what was still more alarming) of the regiments of the line with the National Guard. The National Guard would not fire on the people; the line would not fire on the National Guard. The force of the government was paralysed. About nine o'clock, the 45th regiment of the line bodily fraternised with the National Guard. The 30th regiment gave up their arms to the people at the first summons. At eleven, the quarters of the five companies of Pompiers of Paris were assailed; the whole of their arms and ammunition were given up to the insurgents. Reports of similar defalcations were



every moment brought to the Tuileries; and at length it became evident that if something were not done, and that speedily, the whole body of the troops would desert the sovereign. At length the following proclamation was issued, and posted at the Bourse and in every street:—

*First Proclamation, at Eleven o'clock.*

“Citizens of Paris!—Orders have been given to suspend the firing. We have just been charged by the king to compose a ministry. The Chamber will be dissolved immediately. General Lamoricière has been nominated commander-in-chief of the National Guard of Paris.

“MM. O. Barrot, Thiers, Lamoricière, and Duvergier de Hauranne are Ministers.

“LIBERTY! ORDER! UNION! REFORM!

(Signed)

“ODILLON BARROT and THIERS.”

This proclamation came too late, and was torn down as fast as it was posted! By the time it was issued the people felt that they were the victors, for not only had the whole of the National Guard of Paris taken their part, but a large portion of the soldiers of the line had openly joined them, while many more had refused to fire upon them. A piece of duplicity on the part of the authorities, which was discovered, had also an exasperating effect. On the orders being given to suspend the firing at the barricades, the troops were withdrawn, and the people were informed that they had been ordered back to their barracks; but they soon learned that they had been drawn around the Tuileries, for its defence.

There was an immediate cry of *Aux Tuileries!* and from all parts of the capital immense bodies of the insurgents, now well armed, and marching along with the National Guards, were to be seen directing their way toward the Palais Royal and the Palace of the Tuileries. By twelve o'clock the whole of that quarter of the town was invested. The new ministers had in vain gone among the people, and exerted all their personal influence to allay the popular fury.

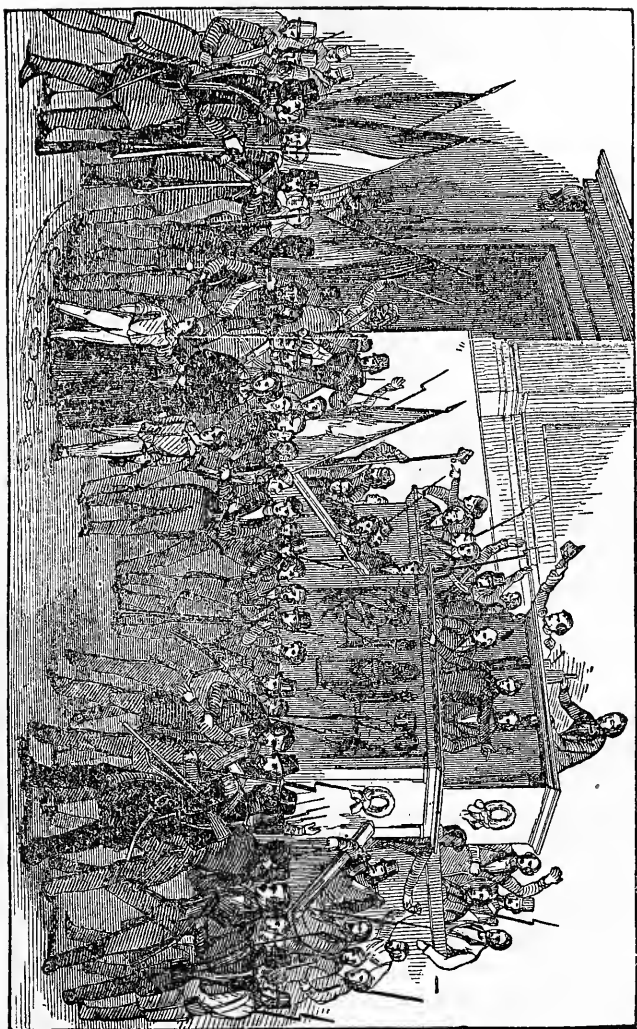
They were coldly received. "We have been too often deluded. This time we will make all sure," was the universal cry. The alarm in the palace may be guessed at by the fact, that before one o'clock the following proclamation was to be seen at the Bourse and in several of the streets:—

*Second Proclamation, One o'clock.*

"Citizens of Paris!—The king has abdicated in favour of the Count de Paris, with the Duchess of Orleans as Regent.

"A general amnesty. Dissolution of the Chamber. Appeal to the country."

But it was again too late. The tardy concession could not save the dynasty, or even its palace. It was about this time that red flags began to appear, with the word "Republic!" rudely traced upon them, and the terrible cry became frequent,—"*A la potence Louis Philippe!*"—"To the gallows with Louis Philippe!" At half-past twelve the attack on the Palais Royal commenced, and from that moment till half-past one the firing was incessant. The Palais Royal was taken by storm after a battle which lasted nearly an hour. The Palace of the Tuileries made no resistance. At half-past one it surrendered, and the people entered at one side, just as the king and his family were escaping at the other. As the people arrived at the Place du Palais Royal they were received by a discharge of musketry from a post called the Chateau d'Eu. The coolest act of this day was the manner in which these men in blouses dislodged the troops and set fire to their barracks. They were headed by the National Guard; all at once the guard opened its ranks, and out stepped some five hundred to a thousand of the people, who coolly walked without flinching (their comrades falling at their sides) till they arrived directly under the walls of the barracks. They then laid hold of some citadines, filled them with straw, set fire to them, and thus smoked them out. Some of the soldiers escaped by the back way; the captain and a few others attempted to cut their way out, but were



Terrible Scene in the Chamber of Deputies.

immediately shot or bayoneted. The remains of twenty burned bodies were found in the ruins.

The Palais Royal and the Tuileries were completely sacked. The splendid furniture was broken and burned. The throne of Louis Philippe was cast into the fire amid thunders of applause. All attempts at theft, however, were rigorously punished. The people desired that no petty act of selfishness should stain their patriotic vengeance. It was but justice to destroy the magnificent dresses of corrupt monarchy. It would have been criminal to have stolen even their spangles. The valuable treasures of art in the two palaces were suffered to remain uninjured. Throughout their work, the people evinced that they were much more capable of noble self-government than their royal rulers had ever admitted.

The scene in the Chamber of Deputies on Thursday, was one of the most extraordinary ever beheld. It was, in fact, a combined repetition of what occurred in the Constituent Assembly on the 10th of August, 1792, and of the decisive blow struck by Bonaparte on the 18th Brumaire, when he turned the legislative body out of doors with his grenadiers. The dynasty and the legislature were alike deposed by the armed people on the memorable 24th of February, 1848.

At one o'clock the President took the chair; upward of three hundred members were present. In half an hour afterwards the Duchess of Orleans entered with her two sons and the Duke de Nemours and Montpensier. The young Comte de Paris came first, led by one of the deputies. It was with great difficulty that way could be made for him amidst the crowd of officers and soldiers of the National Guard. His presence at the door caused a strong sensation, which broke forth in murmurs that soon rose to loud exclamations of, "You cannot enter! You have no right here!" Several of the people, however, rushed into the chamber with the young Count, and placed him under the tribune. A moment afterward the Duchess of Orleans entered, and seated herself in a chair, with her two sons beside her. Immediately the



Cremieux.

passages, and every vacant space, was filled with such of the populace as had succeeded in squeezing themselves in with the National Guards. The Princess soon after quitted the semicircle, and retired to one of the upper benches of the centre, and opposite to the President's bureau. The Chamber was agitated in every part. The first to speak was M. Dupin, who said, "that in the present situation of the capital it had been found necessary to reassemble the Chamber without loss of time. The king had abdicated the crown in favour of his grandson, and devolved the regency on the Duchess of Orleans." At this announcement cries of bravo! resounded from the centre, and from some of the public galleries. Dis-



Ledru Rollin.

approbation was expressed on the benches of the left, and one voice was heard above the rest, exclaiming, "It is too late!" A scene of confusion it is impossible to describe ensued. The Duchess and her children now appeared in the midst of a group of deputies. The National Guards hastened to surround the royal family. The Dukes of Nemours and Montpensier were seated behind the two young princes and their mother.

MM. Marie, Crémieux, Genoude, Barrot, Chevalier, Larochetaquelin, Ledru Rollin, and Lamartine, severally addressed the deputies, though very often interrupted by the crowd, which filled the Chamber, threatened the Duchess of Orleans and the Count of Paris, and demanded a Republic. Lamartine proposed a Provisional government, and the proposition was received with shouts of approbation. The names of the members of the government were written upon slips and carried around the chamber on the points of bayonets. The sitting broke up amid the confusion. About four o'clock the crowd moved to the Hotel de Ville.



M. Marie.

At the Hotel de Ville a very exciting scene was presented. The Provisional government sat to decide upon the course to be adopted. The people fiercely demanded a simple and free democracy. The socialist leaders clamoured for the protection of labour. The aged Dupont de l'Eure tried in vain to be heard in defence of a moderate republic. M. Marie met with no better success. At length, the Provisional government issued the following proclamation:—

*“To the French People.*

“A retrograde and oligarchic government has been overturned by the heroism of the people of Paris. This government has fled, leaving behind it traces of blood, which will

for ever forbid its return. The blood of the people has flowed as in July, but happily it will not have been shed in vain. It has secured a national and popular government, in accordance with the rights, the progress, and the will of this great and generous people. A Provisional government, chosen by the acclamation and at the call of the people, and some of the deputies of the departments in the sitting of the 24th of February, is for the moment invested with the care of organizing and securing the national victory. It is composed of MM. Dupont (de l'Eure), Lamartine, Crémieux, Arago (de l'Institut), Ledru Rollin, and Garnier Pagès. The secretaries to this government are MM. Armand Marrast, editor of the 'National;' Louis Blanc, Ferdinand Flocon, editor of the 'Réforme,' and Albert. These citizens have not hesitated for an instant to accept the patriotic mission which has been imposed on them by the urgency of the occasion. When the capital of France is under fire, the mission of the Provisional government is that of public safety. All France will understand this, and will give the assistance of its patriotism. Under the popular government now proclaimed by the Provisional government, every citizen is a magistrate. Frenchmen, give to the world the example which Paris has given to France. Prepare yourselves, by order and confidence in yourselves, for those strong institutions which you are about to be called upon to give yourselves. The Provisional government desires a Republic, subject to the ratification of the French people, who are to be immediately consulted. Neither the people of Paris nor the Provisional government desire to substitute their opinion for the opinions of the citizens at large, upon the definite form of government which the national sovereignty shall proclaim. The unity of the nation, formed henceforth of all classes of the people which compose it. The government of the nation by itself. Liberty, equality, and fraternity for its principles. The national device and pass-word to be 'The People.' Such is the democratic government which France owes to herself,





Bethmont.

and which our efforts will assure to her. Such are the first acts of the Provisional government.

(Signed), "Dupont (de l'Eure), Lamartine, Ledru Rollin, Bedeau, Michael Goudechaux, Arago, Bethmont, Marie, Carnot, Cavaignac, Garnier Pagès.

"The Municipal Guard is disbanded. The protection of the city of Paris is confided to the National Guard, under the orders of M. Courtais."

This proclamation was followed by another, appointing a Provisional Ministry, as follows:—M. Dupont (de l'Eure), President of the Council, without portfolio; M. De Lamar-tine, Minister of Foreign Affairs; M. Crémieux, Minister of

Justice; M. Ledru Rollin, Minister of the Interior; M. Michel Goudechaux, Minister of Finance; M. François Arago, Minister of Marine; General Bedeau, Minister of War; M. Carnot, Minister of Public Instruction and Worship; M. Bethmont, Minister of Commerce; M. Marie, Minister of Public Works; General Cavaignac, Governor of Algeria. To these decrees succeeded:—

“The Municipal Guard is dissolved. M. Garnier Pagès is named Mayor of Paris, and to him are given as *adjoints*, MM. Guinard and Recurt. M. Flotard is named Secretary-general. All the other Mayors of Paris are provisionally maintained. The Prefecture of Police is under the dependence of the Mayor of Paris. In the name of France, the Provisional government decides that the Chamber of Deputies is dissolved. The ex-Chamber of Peers is forbidden to meet. A National Assembly will be convoked as soon as the Provisional government shall have regulated the necessary measures of order and police.”

Further appointments followed in rapid succession. General Subervie was substituted for General Bedeau, as Minister of War, General Bedeau taking the command of the first military division; Admiral Baudin was appointed Commander of the Fleet; the Police department was intrusted to the citizens Caussidière and Sobrier; and citizen Et. Arago was appointed to the Direction-General of the Post-office. A notice also advised the bakers, or furnishers of provisions of Paris, to keep their shops open to all those who might have occasion for them. The people were expressly recommended not to quit their arms, their positions, or their revolutionary attitude. It was further announced that the liberation of all who had been imprisoned on political grounds had been effected; but, at the same time, all who had been convicted of crimes against persons and property were detained.

Meanwhile, where was Louis Philippe? M. Maurice, an eyewitness, thus describes his flight:—

“About one o’clock in the afternoon, while in conversation

with the colonel of the 21st Regiment of the Line, who appeared well-disposed, and of which he gave proof in ordering his men to sheath their bayonets, a young man in plain clothes, who turned out to be the son of Admiral Baudin, on horseback, trotted past us at a quick pace, crying out that Louis Philippe had abdicated, and requesting that the news might be circulated. A few instants after, at the Pont Tournant, we saw approach from the Tuileries a troop of cavalry of the National Guards, at a walking pace, forming the head of a procession, and by gestures and cries inviting the citizens to abstain from every unfavourable demonstration. At this moment the expression, 'a great misfortune!' (*une grande infortune*), was heard, and the King, Louis Philippe, his right arm passed under the left arm of the queen, on whom he appeared to lean for support, was seen approaching from the gate of the Tuileries, in the midst of the horsemen, and followed by about thirty persons in different uniforms. The queen walked with a firm step, and cast around looks of assurance and anger intermingled. The king wore a black coat, with a common round hat, but wore no orders. The queen was in full mourning. A report was circulated that they were going to the Chamber of Deputies to deliver the act of abdication. Cries of *Vive la Réforme! Vive la France!* and even, by two or three persons, *Vive la Roi!* were heard. The procession had scarcely passed the Pont Tournant, and arrived at the pavement surrounding the obelisk, when the king, the queen, and the whole party made a sudden halt, apparently without any necessity. In a moment they were surrounded by a crowd on foot and horseback, and so pressed on that they could no longer move freely. Louis Philippe appeared alarmed at this sudden approach. Indeed, the spot, chosen by an unhappy chance, produced a strange feeling. A few paces off a Bourbon king, an innocent and resigned victim, would have been happy to have experienced no other treatment. Louis Philippe turned quickly round, let go the queen's arm, took off his hat, raised it in the air, and cried out something which the noise prevented me hearing; in fact,

the cries and *pêle-mêle* were general. The queen became alarmed at no longer feeling the king's arm, and turned around with extreme haste, saying something which I could not catch. At this moment I said, *Madame, ne craignez rien ; continuez, les rangs vont s'ouvrir devant vous*—‘Have no fear, madame; go on, the crowd will open and make way for you.’ Whether her anxiety gave a false interpretation to my intention or not I am ignorant,\* but pushing back my hand she exclaimed, *Laissez moi!* in a tone of extreme irritation. She seized hold of the king's arm, and they both turned their steps toward two small black carriages with one horse each. In the first were two young children. The king took the left and the queen the right, and the children with their faces close to the windows of the vehicle, looking at the crowd with the utmost curiosity; the coachman whipped his horse violently, in fact with so much rapidity did it take place that the coach appeared rather carried than driven away; it passed before me, surrounded by the cavalry and National Guards present, and cuirassiers, and dragoons. The second carriage, in which were two females, followed the other at the same pace, and the escort, which amounted to about two hundred men, set off at a full gallop, taking the water side, toward St. Cloud.”

“The flight of Louis Philippe,” says the ‘Paris National,’ “was marked by an incident which does so much honour to the feelings of our population, that we hasten to mention it. At the moment the ex-king was escaping by the little low doorway nearly opposite the bridge, and going into the little *voiture* that waited for him, he found himself surrounded by the people. Two cuirassiers stationed in the Place de la Concorde rushed to his protection, and this brave regiment, without however, using their arms, opened a passage. An officer seeing the danger, cried out, ‘Messieurs, spare the king!’ To which a stentorian voice replied, ‘We are not assassins—let him go.’ ‘Yes, yes; let him go—*qu’il parte,*’ became the general cry. ‘The people have been too brave during the combat not to be generous after the victory.’”

The family were strangely scattered in their flight. The Duchess de Montpensier, the innocent cause of all the uproar, scared from the palace by the inroads of the mob, wandered about the streets of Paris until five o'clock that day, accompanied by an old Spanish servant, who knew not a word of French. She was met in the Rue du Havre, close to the railway station, by a gentleman who, knowing her by sight, took upon himself to protect her and conduct her to his house, where she remained for some days. How she managed to stray unmolested and unrecognised so far from home, is a mystery to this hour. She says that, seeking to avoid the crowd, she turned down the streets which seemed most free, without caring whither they might lead. She arrived in England on the 29th of February, accompanied by her husband's aid-de-camp. The Duchess of Orleans, after leaving the Chamber of Deputies on Thursday, proceeded with her children to the Invalides, where they passed the night. At five o'clock next morning they left in a hackney-coach, accompanied by an aide-de-camp of the Governor of the Invalides, Marshal Molitor. She did not leave Paris until the following Wednesday, and was accompanied to the frontier by a distinguished member of the Provisional government, M. Marrast. The Provisional government sent the Duchess her jewels and a large sum of money. The Duke de Nemours and the Duke de Montpensier were both separated from their wives in the flight. Nemours arrived in London on Sunday the 27th of February, accompanied by his sister, her husband the Duke of Saxe Coburg, and four children. So sudden had been the escape of the whole party, that no one of them came provided with a change of raiment. The Duchess de Nemours arrived at Portsmouth, on the 4th of March, under the escort of the Duke de Montpensier.

On the evening of Friday, the 25th, order was, to a great extent, restored. The bank of France reopened. To the admirable conduct of the National Guard, and to the intrepidity, energy, and good sense of the Provisional govern-



Lamartine.

ment, and especially to the determination and eloquence of M. Lamartine, belongs the credit of restoring tranquillity.

The abolition of the punishment of death for political offences, and the readoption of the tricolour, which had for a while been supplanted by the ill-omened red flag, were proposed by Lamartine, and owed their success to his extraordinary eloquence and courage. Five times on Friday he addressed the people, still fierce with excitement, assembled under the windows of the Hotel de Ville. The "Presse" has reported one of these addresses:—

"It is thus that you are led from calumny to calumny against the men who have devoted themselves, head, heart, and breast, to give you a real republic—the republic of all rights, all interests, and all the legitimate rights of the people. Yesterday you asked us to usurp, in the name of the people of Paris, the rights of 35,000,000 of men—to vote them an absolute republic, instead of a republic in-

vested with the strength of their consent; that is to say, to make of that republic, imposed and not consented, the will of a part of the people, instead of the will of the whole nation. To-day you demand from us the red flag instead of the tricolour one. Citizens! for my part, I will never adopt the red flag; and I will explain in a word why I will oppose it with all the strength of my patriotism. It is, citizens, because the tricolour flag has made the tour of the world, under the republic and the empire, with our liberties and our glories, and that the red flag has only made the tour of the Champ de Mars, trailed through torrents of the blood of the people."

The effect of this oratory was all powerful. At this part of the speech of M. de Lamartine, in that astonishing sitting of sixty hours, in the midst of an irritated crowd, every one was suddenly affected by his words: hands were clapped and tears shed, and they finished by embracing him, shaking his hands, and bearing him in triumph. In a moment after, fresh masses of people arrived, armed with sabres and bayonets. They knocked at the doors; they filled the *salles*. The cry was, that all was lost; that the people were about to fire on or stifle the members of the Provisional government. M. de Lamartine was called for. He was supplicated to go once more, for the last time, to address the people. He was raised on a step of the staircase; the crowd remained for half-an-hour without consenting to listen to him, vociferating, brandishing arms of all kinds over his head. M. de Lamartine folded his arms, recommenced his address, and finished by softening, appeasing, and caressing the intelligent and sensible people, and determining them either to withdraw, or to become themselves the safeguard of the Provisional government.

On Saturday, the restoration of order was completed. The public Departments resumed their duties, and among them the department of Finance. It was only on the previous Monday that the notice to pay the city taxes had been issued. The whole of the coming year's taxes derived from

per-centage on rents of apartments and shopkeepers' licenses would thus fall into the hands of the new government—an enormous fund with which to begin. The million a month to the civil list had already been confiscated, or, as the *ordonnance* has it, “restored to the people”—a handsome addition to the fund applicable to the relief of distress. The streets were partially cleared of the obstructions caused by the barricades, under the scientific direction of the students of the *École Polytechnique*, in such a way as not to compromise the security against a surprise afforded by these popular fortifications. This enabled the country people to bring in provisions, of which there was an abundant supply; and it allowed the vast number of coachmen and cabmen to resume their occupation. The law courts resumed their sittings; the shops were opened; every thing was done to calm apprehension.

On this day, the indefatigable Lamartine declared the Republic: he presented himself, with the other members of the government, on the steps of the *Hôtel de Ville*, and thus addressed the multitude:—

“Citizens! The Provisional government of the Republic has called upon the people to witness its gratitude for the magnificent national co-operation which has just accepted these new institutions. (Prolonged acclamations from the crowd and National Guard.)

“The Provisional government of the Republic has ‘only joyful intelligence to announce to the people here assembled. Royalty is abolished. The Republic is proclaimed. The people will exercise their political rights. National workshops are open for those who are without work. (Immense acclamations.)

“The army is being reorganized. The National Guard indissolubly unites itself with the people, so as to promptly restore order with the same hand that had only the preceding moment conquered our liberty. (Renewed acclamations.)

“Finally, gentlemen, the Provisional government was anxious to be itself the bearer to you of the last decree it



has resolved on and signed in this memorable sitting—that is, the abolition of the penalty of death for political matters. (Unanimous bravos.) This is the noblest decree, gentlemen, that has ever issued from the mouths of a people the day after their victory. (Yes, yes !) It is the character of the French nation which escapes in one spontaneous cry from the soul of its government. (Yes, yes ! Bravo !) We have brought it with us, and I will now read it to you. There is not a more becoming homage to a people than the spectacle of its own magnanimity.”

Here the orator read the following noble proclamation:—

“The Provisional government, convinced that greatness of soul is the highest degree of policy, and that each revolution effected by the French people owes to the world the consecration of an additional philosophical truth; considering that there is no more sublime principle than the inviolability of human life; considering that in the memorable days in which we live, the Provisional government has remarked with pride that not a single cry for vengeance or for death has dropped from the mouths of the people; declares—That in its opinion the punishment of death for political offences is abolished, and that it will present that wish to the definitive ratification of the National Assembly. The Provisional government has so firm a conviction of the truth that it proclaims, in the name of the French people, that if the guilty men who have just caused the blood of France to be spilt, were in the hands of the people, it would, in their opinion, be a more exemplary chastisement to degrade them than to put them to death.”

The Provisional government were duly rewarded for this great act of clemency, by the confidence which it immediately inspired in the justness and moderation of their views. It was indeed “the noblest act that ever issued from the mouths of a people the day after their victory;” and it did undoubtedly express the genuine, spontaneous sentiments of the victorious Parisians, and of Frenchmen generally. It is well-known that M. Guizot remained in a friend’s house in Paris

for six days after the 24th of February, and that the Provisional government were fully aware of his place of concealment, and that it was not till he was safe across the frontiers that they took formal steps for prosecuting him and his colleagues. Now the populace, who so often intruded into the Hôtel de Ville with clamorous importunities of all sorts, never once thought of urging the government to vindictive measures against the fallen Ministers. On the night of the 24th, when the people were still flushed with the victory they had gained, an individual posted up at the corner of the Rue Richelieu a written paper, containing the name and address of the persons with whom MM. Guizot, Duchatel, and Hébert, had taken refuge. That indication was followed by an appeal to vengeance. Already the crowd was gathering round the spot full of emotion, when a patrol of workmen advanced, with a corporal of the National Guard at its head. The latter approached, read the placard, and cried out, "My friends, they who make such dastardly denunciations have not fought in our ranks!" and he tore down the paper amid the applause of all.

We are inclined to think with a writer in the "Westminster Review," that the abolition of the punishment of death for political offences probably contributed, more than any other act of the Provisional government, to cause the entire nation to accept the new men, as the indispensable necessity of the time, with an unanimity to which there is hardly a parallel in history. On the part of the army, Marshal Bugeaud; on the part of the clergy, the Archbishop of Paris; gave in their adhesion to the new Republic. On the part of the middle classes, whether in Paris or in the provinces, and of the whole press, without a solitary exception, there does not appear to have been the hesitation of a moment. All seem to have felt by instinct, that whether or not the people were prepared for republican institutions, the time was come when a trial of them must be made; for after the fall of a government which but a few days before had enjoyed the reputation of being one of the strongest in Europe, and



François Arago.

then suddenly vanished like a mist, there could be no further hope of security for person or property under the protection of royalty. This feeling was put to the test by a feeble attempt on the part of the few remaining friends of the elder branch of the Bourbons, which ended in ridiculous failure.

On Sunday the members of the Provisional government reviewed the National Guards, before the Column of July. From the steps of this column, Arago, the astronomer and statesman, proclaimed the Republic. In the evening there was a grand illumination.

Beyond the walls of the capital, there was much wanton destruction of property during the revolution. Louis Philippe's beautiful chateau of Neuilly was burned down; but most of its contents were sent to the public treasury before the work of conflagration began. The wine-cellars having been broken open, many of the crowd drank to excess, and

being unable to leave the building were burned to death. The splendid mansion of Baron Rothschild, at Suresnes was destroyed, under the impression that it was the king's property. On the Northern Railway the damage done amounted to not less than \$2,000,000.

The close of the revolutionary week witnessed the return of order, as we have already stated; the gradual restoration of confidence—too soon, alas! to be again impaired—was the work of the succeeding week. The streets still presented a very bustling appearance, but one of a most satisfactory character, being chiefly occasioned by the active steps taken to repair the mischief done in the three days. The Provisional government freely took all unemployed workmen into their pay, and as an additional means of securing the tranquillity of the capital, there was created a Garde National Mobile of twenty-four battalions, to be clothed by the State, and paid at the rate of thirty sous daily per man. Twenty thousand of the most indigent and daring youth of Paris were quickly enrolled and marched off toward the frontiers. However objectionable these measures might be in the abstract, the strictest political economist can hardly deny their expediency under the special circumstances. Hunger is the most dangerous counsellor that ever infested a revolutionised city. Another wise act of *largesse* on the part of the government was the redemption, at the cost of the State, of all articles pledged subsequently to the 4th of February for sums not exceeding ten francs. The number of articles thus released amounted to one hundred thousand, at an averaged cost of seven francs each.

Saturday, March 4th, was devoted to the obsequies of the victims who had fallen on the side of the people. Their remains were wrapped in ticoloured winding-sheets, and laid on fifteen open biers, each containing five or six bodies. Several corpses had been placed in the vaults beneath the Column of July on the preceding night, and those claimed by their families or friends had of course been given up for private interment. The public funeral, therefore, afforded no

opportunity for ascertaining the exact number of the slain, nor are we aware that this has been determined in any authentic manner. At first it was supposed that between five and six hundred had been killed on both sides; a later estimate make the number less than two hundred: whereas a correspondent of one of the London daily papers states, that he was assured by a sergeant of the 14th regiment of the line (a detachment of which fired the fatal volley at the Foreign Office) that the killed in that regiment alone were more than two hundred.

The burial solemnity consisted of a procession from the Hôtel de Ville to the Madeleine; a performance of funereal rites at that church; a procession to the Place de la Bastille; and an interment of the dead in the vaults beneath the Column of July. The procession reached the Church of the Madeleine about noon. The church was hung with black drapery, tricoloured flags, and wreaths of *immortelles*; and inscribed over its entrance was,—*Aux Citoyens morts pour la Liberté*. A service was performed within. The route from the church to the Column of July, in the Place de la Bastille, was festooned continuously for the whole distance (nearly three miles) by tricoloured and black draperies. These were supported by posts, on which were hung shields of black cloth, inscribed with the words,—*Respect aux manes des victimes des 22, 23, et 24 Février*. Flags waved from the windows of every house on the route. The people assembled to view the spectacle by myriads, and as portions of the mass waved to and fro, the movement was like that of currents on the ocean. The day was beautiful, and a brilliant sun shining on the sharp clear outlines of the white Grecian church, on the lofty old-fashioned houses around it, so picturesque in their complete contrast with it, and glancing from the forest of bayonets bristling among hundreds of tricoloured flags, above the surface of the motley and closely packed crowd, of which no end was to be seen as far as the eye could reach, formed a spectacle that no city save Paris could furnish, and Paris only on such an occasion.

The work of demolition was finished ; that of construction was scarcely begun. The fetters had been removed from the press, and the great reign of the people secured by the establishment of universal suffrage. But this was not government sufficient for the protection and security of society. A National Assembly was to be organized, and then a written constitution—liberty's favourite fortress—was to be framed and adopted. In the mean time, M. de Lamartine sent a circular to the diplomatic agents of the French Republic, giving them an account of the change in the political system of their country, and instructing them to use their best efforts for the preservation of peace. To the request of the Poles and others, that France should aid the oppressed of other nations, the wise and firm minister replied, that while wishing success to the efforts of patriots, the French would best serve all interests by remaining neutral.

The following decree prescribed the manner of electing the Constituent Assembly which was to shape the new republican constitution. The time of holding the elections, which was at first appointed for the 9th of April, was afterward fixed for the 23d and 24th:—

“The Provisional Government of the Republic, wishing to hand over as soon as possible into the hands of a definitive government the powers which it exercises for the interest and by command of the people, decrees:—

“Art. 1. The electoral cantonal assemblies are convoked for the 9th April next, to elect the representatives of the people at the National Assembly which is to decree the constitution.

“Art. 2. The election will be based on the number of the population.

“Art. 3. The total number of representatives will be nine hundred, including Algeria and the French colonies.

“Art. 4. They shall be divided among the departments, agreeably to the subjoined list.

“Art. 5. The suffrage shall be direct and universal.

“Art. 6. Every Frenchman twenty-one years of age is an

elector, if he has resided in the commune for six months, and not judicially deprived or suspended from the exercise of his civil rights.

“Art. 7. All Frenchmen who have attained the age of twenty-five years, and not deprived or suspended of their civil rights, are eligible to be elected.

“Art. 8. The ballot shall be secret.

“Art. 9. All electors shall vote at the principal town of their canton by ballot. Each bulletin shall contain as many names as there shall be representatives to be elected in the department. No one can be elected representative who has not received two thousand votes.

“Art. 10. Each representative shall receive an indemnity of twenty-five francs per day during the session.

“Art. 11. An order from the Provisional Government will regulate the details of the execution of the present decree.

“Art. 12. The National Constituent Assembly shall open on the 20th April.

“Art. 13. The present decree shall be immediately sent into the departments, and published and posted up in all the communes of the Republic.

“Done at Paris, by the Government in Council, this 5th March, 1848.”

On several occasions before the election, the government was in danger of being overthrown, and the capital drenched with blood, through the violence of the Socialists, and the imprudence of Ledru Rollin, the Minister of the Interior. Lamartine maintained his dignified position, refused to make any concession to the small factions, and being supported by the National Guard, triumphed. Attempts at insurrection were crushed.

The elections passed off quietly. The moderate republican party obtained a large majority of the deputies to the Assembly. Of thirty-four members returned for Paris and its department, seven only were ultras, and among these the only Socialists were Louis Blanc and Albert. Lamartine was re-



Louis Blanc.

turned for ten departments by an aggregate of two millions votes.

When the result of the election was known, the anarchical faction flew to arms in Nantes, Amiens, Marseilles, Rouen, and in one or two other towns; but in all except the last named, they were put down with more or less facility. The insurrection of Rouen was not subdued without much bloodshed and two days' hard fighting, (April 26 and 27,) in which grape and cannon-shot were copiously used by the troops. The clubs of Paris took fire at this news, and issued inflammatory placards, denouncing the National Guards of Rouen as assassins, the government as hostile to the people, and the elections as reactionary. In the council-room of the government, Louis Blanc moved that the two generals in command at Rouen should be arrested. The ferment continued to increase daily, and it was feared that the meeting of the representatives would be the signal for civil war.

Nevertheless, on the 4th of May, the National Constituent Assembly was installed under the most flattering auspices;





Albert.

and the Provisional government, in resigning its dictatorship, was enabled to declare, by the mouth of Lamartine:—

“We have passed forty-five days without any other executive force than that wholly unarmed moral authority which the nation was pleased to acknowledge in us. . . . We have traversed more than two months of crisis, of suspended employment, of distress, of elements of political agitation and social anguish, accumulated immeasurably in a capital of a million and a half of inhabitants; we have traversed all this without having to grieve our property violated, or one life sacrificed to passion, or one proscription, one political imprisonment, one drop of blood shed in our name in Paris!

Descending from this long dictatorship, we can go out and mingle with the people in the public streets, without fearing that any one shall call us to account in the name of a single citizen, and say to us, 'What have you done with him?'"\*

The general voice, and the wishes of a majority of the Assembly, designated Lamartine as the chief to whose hands should be committed the executive power of the republic. But he refused to accept that lofty station, and from that moment his popularity declined. The vilest slanders were hurled against this pure and noble statesman, but he maintained his principles without faltering. His declaration that he would not become a member of any executive commission from which Ledru Rollin was excluded, though springing from the best motives, alienated a large number of the moderate republicans, who despised Rollin.

On the 10th of May, an executive committee of five members was elected by ballot in the Assembly, the number of voters being 794.

Arago, 725; Garnier Pagès, 715; Marie, 782; Lamartine, 645; Ledru Rollin, 458. These votes marked the dissatisfaction with which the Assembly assented to a coalition between the party of the majority and the red republicans.

On the 15th of May, the socialists, headed by Blanqui, Barbes, Raspail, and Louis Blanc, endeavoured to force the Assembly into an adoption of their measures and into extending aid to Poland. The chamber was invaded by the mob and a terrific scene ensued. But the National Guard and the Garde Mobile remained true to the friends of order. Arago and Duclerc, by their exertions and personal exposure gave the troops confidence. The insurgents were dispersed, and their chiefs arrested.

"It was not long before fresh commotions were occasioned in Paris by the election of eleven representatives in lieu of those who had resigned, or who, having been doubly returned, had chosen to sit for some other department. The ballot

\* "Revolutions of 1848," by W. S. Chase.



Barbes.

took place on Sunday, the 4th of June, without much excitement, and the result was made known on the 8th. The names of the successful candidates made up a list of the most motley complexion, betokening the confusion into which public opinion had fallen. First stood Caussidière; then came Moreau, Goudechaux, and Changarnier, moderate republicans; Thiers, dreaded as the ablest representative of the old system, was fifth. The next two were Pierre Leroux, the dreamy founder of the Humanitarian school, and Victor Hugo, an ultra democrat and socialist orator. Louis Napoleon Bonaparte was the eighth, and the list ended with Lagrange, who had provoked the massacre of the Boulevard des Capucines; Boissel, the projector of the February banquet;



Goudechaux.

and Proudhomme, a subtle propounder of social paradoxes, one of whose maxims is, "that property is robbery."

"Among the names that had been put forward was that of the Prince de Joinville; and it was known that a large number of votes would be recorded in his favour. To prevent this unpleasant contingency, the Executive Commission took care to have a law passed, on the 26th of May, banishing the whole Orleans branch of the House of Bourbon, and rendering its members incapable of serving France in any capacity.

"Louis Napoleon occasioned the government much more serious uneasiness. The law of banishment against the Bonaparte family had been repealed; three of its members already held seats in the National Assembly; and the empe-



Proudhomme.

ror's heir, elected by four different departments, including that of the capital, could only be excluded by a special act of ostracism. On the 12th, Lamartine gave notice of a motion to that effect, and the whole Assembly rose and testified their approval in a shout of '*Vive la Republique!*' This was done under a false impression that shots had been fired at the National Guard by persons who cried, '*Vive l'Empereur!*' It was true that riots were committed, seditious cries uttered, and incendiary proclamations put forth by the prince's partisans; but the only blood drawn was that of an awkward civic soldier, who wounded himself by the accidental discharge of his own pistol. The real facts being known, the Assembly voted on the 13th, by a vast majority, for the ad-

mission of the citizen, Louis Napoleon Bonaparte. On the 15th, they showed every disposition to rescind that vote, in their indignation at a letter from the Prince, received that day by the President. The passage which gave so much offence was the following, *If the people impose duties on me, I shall know how to fulfil them*; but I disavow all those who have made use of my name to excite disturbance.' But all was made good again by another letter, dated London, June 15th, in which Bonaparte tendered his resignation rather than be the involuntary cause of disorder."\*

On the 12th of May, the first step toward the closing of the national workshops was taken. These had been instituted to satisfy the demon of faction, and to supply the poor with bread. But their expense was a clog to the government. However, they were allowed to exist for some time longer, much diminished in extent.

The Executive Commission, and especially Lamartine, have been most unjustly accused of not foreseeing and providing against the outbreak of June. Lamartine distinctly foretold what was coming, and was indefatigable in his efforts to prevent the impending calamity. The means he proposed were twofold:—to concentrate a large military force in and round Paris, and to disperse the workmen through the provinces in small bodies, provided with steady employment of a useful kind. His anxiety to accomplish this last object appears to have blinded him to the iniquity of the scheme for the appropriation of all the railways by the state. He was most earnest in recommending that measure as the only hopeful means of avoiding a bloody conflict, not considering that it wanted two conditions, without which it could only be an act of arbitrary spoliation. The price at which the railways were to be taken out of the hands of their proprietors was to be fixed, not by an impartial jury, but by the government itself, and the shareholders were not to be paid in cash, but to be forced to sell on credit to an almost bankrupt state.

\* "Revolutions of 1848," by W. S. Chase.

On the 20th of May, the government decreed that the garrison of Paris should consist of 20,000 men of the line, 15,000 of the Garde Mobile, 2600 Republican Guards, and 2850 Gardiens de Paris, besides 15,000 of the line in the various posts within a few hours' march of the capital: in all, 54,650 bayonets. It was further ordered, that in case of serious danger, the Minister of War, General Cavaignac, should take command of the forces of every kind in Paris. Again, on the 8th of June, Lamartine used these remarkable words in council,—“We are approaching a crisis. It will not be a riot, or a battle, but a campaign of several days, and of several factions combined. The National Assembly may, perhaps, be forced for a while to quit Paris. We must provide for these contingencies with the energy of a republican power. The 55,000 men sufficient for Paris would not suffice to bring back the national representation into the capital. I demand besides a series of decrees of public security, that the Minister of War immediately order up to Paris 20,000 men more.” This proposal was unanimously adopted: and thus, a fortnight before the insurrection broke out, the government had made arrangements to bring 75,000 bayonets to the support of the National Guard of 190,000 men. General Cavaignac carried the orders of the government into effect as fast as quarters could be provided. Lamartine every day inquired as to the arrival of the troops, and was told, “The orders have been given, and the troops are in movement.” Taking into account the effective strength of the Garde Mobile, the Garde Republicaine, and the Gardiens de Paris, the effective number of the garrison in and around the capital at the end of June was 45,000 men.

Meanwhile, the thunder-clouds were visibly gathering, but it was not expected that the storm would burst before the 14th of July. On that day, the anniversary of the taking of the Bastille, the red republicans had arranged to hold a banquet, tickets for which were to be issued at the price of five sous each. By this means it was calculated that at least 150,000 men would be brought together; and that, whether

they dined or not, they would not separate without fighting. Disconcerted, however, by the active measures taken by the government to break up the *Ateliers nationaux*, certain of the conspirators resolved, suddenly and prematurely, on the 22d of June, to begin the action on the following day.

“On Thursday, the eve of the insurrection, at ten o’clock in the morning, M. Marie instructed M. Recurt, Minister of the Interior, to arrest fifty-six delegates of the *Ateliers nationaux*, who were then in the Jardin des Plantes. These men, and the chiefs of the Society of the Rights of Man, were the actual leaders of the insurrection. The delegates were allowed to walk about openly all day, and the writs against them were not put into the hands of the Prefect of Police until noon on the 23d, when they were already behind the barricades. That functionary has formally deposed, that had he been authorized to arrest the delegates and the chiefs of the club, ‘he would undoubtedly have prevented the insurrection.’

“Two plans for putting down the expected outbreak were severally proposed. The Executive Committee was for spreading the troops over the capital, and preventing the erection of barricades. General Cavaignac’s system was the reverse of this, and consisted in concentrating his forces at certain points, and bringing them into action in large masses. The insurrections of July, 1830, and February, 1848, had been treated by the existing governments as a sort of larger street riots, to be quelled in a police fashion. He treated that of June as an outbreak of civil war, and met it in true order of battle. Those two examples proved to him, he said, ‘the necessity of not spreading the troops through the streets, but of advancing them in compact bodies, and in such numbers that the insurrection should always be forced to give way before them. In such affairs the least check is fatal to an army. Above all things, to keep inviolate the honour of the flag was the sure pledge of final success. The event has confirmed the correctness of these views.’ General Cavaignac consulted his comrades, Lamoricière, Bedeau, and Foucher, on this plan, and finding that they fully approved of it, he de-



terminated to act strictly upon it, but without disclosing it to the Executive Committee. 'He was not sure that they, in their ignorance of military matters, would have approved of it; or, if they had, they might have taken it on themselves to carry it out, and perhaps failed.'

"It was a necessary consequence of this system of tactics that the insurgents had ample time to choose their ground and fortify it. Their manner of doing this displayed, in a remarkable degree, that proficiency in the art of defence to which the Parisian populace had attained by long practice in street fighting. For the basis of their operations they had four main positions, two on the northern or right bank of the river, namely, the Clos St. Lazare, a little north of the Porte St. Denis, and the Place de la Bastille; and on the left bank they had the church of St. Severin and the Pantheon. An imaginary line, running in a direction nearly north and south through the Clos St. Lazare and the Pantheon, and bisecting the old island city of Paris, represents very nearly the demarcation between the insurgent and the governmental moieties of the capital. All east of that line, with the exception of the Hotel de Ville and its precincts, was a net-work of barricades, and every inch of the ground was disputed with desperate courage and pertinacity.

"It was twelve o'clock on Friday, the 23d, before the first shot was fired. The battle was begun by the National Guard at the Portes St. Denis and St. Martin, from which the barricaders were repulsed, after considerable loss on both sides. The fighting continued all day on both sides of the river, with great slaughter but little practical result, the insurgents being only driven from their more advanced positions to rally again in other places. About five o'clock General Cavaignac, accompanied by Lamartine, Pierre Bonaparte, and other representatives, led an attack in person against the Faubourg du Temple. For three hours the barricades withstood the fire of four pieces of cannon; and two generals and four hundred soldiers were killed or wounded in the conflict. The troops behaved with admirable steadiness throughout the day, and

the young soldiers of the Garde Mobile especially distinguished themselves. But the want of a sufficient number of troops occasioned loud and general complaints; and accusations of imbecility, supineness, and treachery, were freely cast on the Executive Commission and the commander-in-chief. The proneness of the French to indulge in calumnious suspicions, and to find in enormous perfidy a key to whatever remains unexplained in the conduct of their public men, is one of the ugliest defects in the national character.

“At four o'clock on Saturday morning the battle began again, and raged with intense vehemence on both sides of the river. Both parties had been reinforced during the night. National Guards had arrived from the departments, a regiment of the line from Orleans, other troops from the adjacent garrisons, and cannon from Vincennes. The insurgents had also gained greatly in numbers, in the strength of their positions, and in the quantity of arms and ammunition. Barricades, ten or twelve feet high, and of great strength, crossed the streets at every dozen paces; the houses too were, for the most part, in the possession of the insurgents, and covered with mattresses, bags of sand, and other protections against musketry, from behind which showers of missiles were poured down on the assailants. Besides this, they had eleven pieces of cannon; but they do not appear to have made much use of them.

“At eleven o'clock the National Assembly passed a resolution declaring Paris in a state of siege, and appointing General Cavaignac, Dictator, with unlimited powers, civil and military. The Executive Committee instantly resigned. Orders were then issued that the National Guard should occupy the streets, prevent the assemblage of crowds, and watch over the safety of private property. The rest of the inhabitants were to remain at home, and keep their windows closed as a security to the soldiers in the streets that they should not be fired on from the houses. Every person out of uniform who was found abroad without a written pass was searched, and either taken prisoner or led by a National Guard to his own

door. In pursuance of this judicious plan many persons were arrested in the act of conveying ammunition and other aid to the insurgents. At noon General Cavaignac sent a flag of truce to the insurgents, offering a general amnesty if they would yield before two o'clock. The offer was rejected without hesitation, or a moment's interruption of the firing.

"During the earlier part of the day the fight raged chiefly in the city and on the southern bank of the river. To get possession of the Hotel de Ville and the Prefecture of Police was a cardinal point with the insurgents. Occupying the church of St. Gervais and its precincts, close to the Municipal palace, and half the bridges and buildings in the Isle du Palais, the least success in that quarter would have enabled them to close in on all sides, and completely invest the city. In Parisian warfare, the loss of the Hotel de Ville is what the loss of its colors is to a regiment in the field; it was therefore a matter of primary importance to the government to pierce the enemy's lines at that central point, toward which all his efforts converged. The church of St. Gervais was taken after a heavy cannonade; next the bridges were carried with great slaughter, and thus the means of communication between the insurgents of the two banks was completely cut off. Pursuing their success, the troops possessed themselves of the church of St. Severin, the head-quarters of the insurgents on that side. Their stronghold, the Pantheon, was carried at one o'clock at the point of the bayonet, after the great iron doors and railings had been broken by cannon. By four o'clock the government was master of the whole left bank of the river.

"On the northern side the troops were hotly engaged all day in assailing the strong outworks of the insurgents in the Faubourgs Poissonniere and St. Denis, which were not carried till a late hour, and with great cost of life. Their defenders retreated to their central positions in the Clos St. Lazare, the Marais, and the Faubourg St. Antoine, which were so strong as to withstand every effort made against

them by General Lamoricière, who commanded in the northern districts.

“The Clos St. Lazare is a wide, elevated plateau, covered with building materials and half-built houses. In the middle stood a new hospital, not yet finished, which the insurgents made their citadel, while the church of St. Vincent de Paule and the Customs warehouses served them as outposts. Behind them they had the outer boulevards, strongly barricaded, and the city-wall, which they had loop-holed, and from behind which a number of men fired, in complete security, on the troops. The church was taken early on Sunday morning. At one o’clock General Lamoricière stormed the Customs depot, after breaching it with cannon. Howitzers then swept the Clos St. Lazare, and the troops marching through divided the insurgents into two parts, which they drove before them in different directions. By four o’clock the troops of the Republic were masters of this quarter, and General Lamoricière was now able to effect a junction in the Place de la Bastille with the troops that had meanwhile been sweeping the ground up to that point from the Hotel de Ville. This latter was a service of extreme difficulty, and could hardly have been effected at all without the aid of the sappers and pompiers to turn the barricades by cutting passages through the houses, and sometimes by blowing them up. Cannon was almost useless in the narrow and tortuous streets of this quarter. The insurgents had possession of nearly all the houses, and had opened interior communications between them, so that they could pass to and fro as in covered ways. The whole neighbourhood was in fact one immense fortress, which it was necessary to demolish stone by stone. The besiegers paid a heavy price of blood for their victory.

“A desperate struggle, continued to a late hour at night, in the Faubourg du Temple, concluded the operations of this most bloody day. On Monday morning the insurgents made their last stand in the Faubourg St. Antoine, beyond the Canal St. Martin. An armistice took place, and they sent a deputation to propose a surrender, on condition that they

should be allowed to retain their arms. General Cavaignac would accept nothing less than an unconditional surrender, and he allowed the insurgents until ten o'clock to deliberate. At that hour it was thought that the terms prescribed were agreed to, and some of the troops having got within the lines of the insurgents were fired on, and a great number of them killed. Hostilities were immediately renewed, and by one o'clock they terminated in the total discomfiture of the insurgents.

“The number of killed and wounded on both sides, as ascertained by actual reckoning, exceeded eight thousand; but, besides these, many perished of whom no accurate account could be taken. Multitudes of dead bodies were cast into the Seine before they were yet cold. The remains of others were found by the reapers in the fields around Paris. Nearly fourteen thousand prisoners were made by the government, and of these more than a thousand died of jail-fever.

“Of eleven generals who commanded, two were killed, viz. Generals Négrier and Bréa; and six were wounded, five of them mortally. These were, Duvier, Damesme, Koate, La-fontaine, Fouché, and Bedeau, the last and only surviving one of whom suffered amputation of the thigh. Generals Lamoricière, Lebreton, and Perrot, escaped unhurt. The former had two horses killed under him. Old soldiers declare, that never in the battles of the Empire was the proportion of generals killed and wounded so considerable, and that never were so many men killed at the attacks of forts and redoubts, as at the barricades of Paris in the terrible affair of June.

“Nor were the victims in this hideous carnage such only as belonged to the guilty party, or to that of their armed opponents, and to a class whose profession is to brave the chance of a violent death; but men of peace were struck down in the performance of their generous mission to bring the misguided insurgents to reason, and to offer them promises of mercy. One member of the National Assembly, M. Bixio, was severely wounded while thus charitably employed; and two others, MM. Dornes and Charbonnel, received wounds of



General Négrier.

which they died. But the death that produced the saddest and most profound impression, appalling even the host of his slayers, and filling their hearts with shame and contrition, was that of Denis August Affre, the good Archbishop of Paris. Desirous of putting an end to the horrors of the insurrection, he went on the second day among the insurgents, accompanied by two of his vicars. The firing from the barricades ceased at the sight of a green branch which was carried before him. Some misunderstanding, however, caused a musket to be discharged, which led to the resumption of the firing on both sides, just at the moment when the archbishop and his attendants were about to ascend a barricade. Uninjured, however, by the fire, he descended into the midst of the insurgents; but while he was addressing them he was struck in the groin by a ball fired from a window. The archbishop's servant Pierre, who accompanied his master, was mortally wounded at the same barricade; the two vicars who



Archbishop Affre.

were with him escaped unhurt, but the archbishop expired on the 27th. The good shepherd had given his life for his sheep.

“Treachery and cruelty characterized the warfare carried on by the insurgents. Seldom did they give quarter, and in many instances they butchered their prisoners with the atrocity of savages. The boy soldiers of the Garde Mobile were the special objects of their barbarous rage; the mutilated body of one of those lads was seen on the principal barricade of the Faubourg St. Antoine, impaled on a stake; the bodies of five others were found in the Pantheon, hung up by the wrists, and hacked with sabres and bayonets. A woman, who was taken prisoner, confessed, with the most savage joy, that she had decapitated five officers of the Garde Mobile with a table knife. It is not true, however, as was at first given out, that the insurgents carried their cruelty to such a pitch of refinement as to use poisoned, or hacked, or jagged

balls. The evidence of the surgeons who had care of the wounded, completely refutes that story; the only apparent grounds for which were, that the insurgents sometimes used balls that were defective in shape from the haste with which they were made, and that sometimes they used zinc and copper when lead failed them. To supply themselves with the latter metal they went down into the vaults under the Column of July, and carried away the leaden coffins, after throwing out the remains of the victims of 1830, and of February, 1848. The insurgents made several attempts to set houses on fire by pumping spirits of turpentine upon them. In several places vitriol was thrown from the windows on the troops.\*”

Assassinations were frequent long after the open contest had ceased. The troops shot many of their prisoners in retaliation for the massacre of the soldiers who had fallen into the hands of the insurgents.

This terrible insurrection was planned and carried out by the workmen alone. On their banners was inscribed the motto of their necessity, “Bread!” They believed that the struggle of February had resulted in benefiting the middle class alone; and, stimulated by the fanatical socialist leaders, they determined to make an effort to gain power for the labouring mass. Their valour was worthy of a better cause than that of anarchy. More indomitable spirit was never displayed by any body of people. Still, if we contemplate the consequences of their success, we cannot mourn that they were defeated.

“On laying down his temporary dictatorship immediately after the pacification of the capital, General Cavaignac was, by the enthusiastic suffrage of the Assembly, appointed President of the Council, with power to nominate his own ministry.

All requisite measures were taken to secure the peace of the capital and the provinces, and to allay the anxieties that were from time to time excited by rumours of fresh plots. The

\* “Revolutions of 1848,” by W. S. Chase.



garrison of Paris was augmented and maintained on a war footing. The National Guard underwent a thorough purification: every man belonging to it who had not responded to the call to arms during the insurrection, was disarmed and dismissed the ranks. The 8th, 9th, and 12th legions, comprising the men of the Marais, the Faubourg St. Antoine, and the Faubourg St. Marceaux, were disarmed and dissolved, and so also were twenty-seven companies of the other nine legions, and two of the suburban legions. The *Ateliers nationaux* were suppressed; but, by a decree passed in the midst of the insurrection, three millions of francs were applied to the relief of the destitute inhabitants of Paris. The state of siege was prolonged until the 20th of October, and during its continuance eleven journals were suspended, including *La Presse*, the editor of which, M. Emile de Girardin, had been arrested on the 24th of June, by order of General Cavaignac, and kept in confinement for eleven days. A law for the regulation of the press was also enacted, and the responsibility of journalists was secured by the exaction of a large amount of caution-money, and by other stringent provisions. Lastly, the legal limitations of the right of association was defined; and those clubs which were not suppressed were made liable to such reasonable restrictions as were requisite to the peace and safety of the community.”\*

The number of the insurgents made prisoners (ten thousand eight hundred and thirty-eight) embarrassed the government. Six thousand two hundred and thirty-seven were set at liberty, four thousand three hundred and forty-six condemned to transportation, and two hundred and forty-five sent before courts-martial. The courts were overwhelmed with business for the remainder of the year. The Court of Inquiry, of which Odillon Barrot was president, excited a great feeling of indignation by its manifestation of personal hatred of the authors of the republic. Ledru Rollin, Louis Blanc, Causidière, and Sobrier defended themselves with ability and eloquence. But as they saw no chance of safety in the midst of

\* “Revolutions of 1848,” by W. S. Chase.



Emile de Girardin.

the general reaction, the three last fled to the frontiers, and did not stand a regular trial. Rollin was not prosecuted. The charges against him were made informally in the Assembly.

In the mean time, the Assembly was engaged in discussing the draught of the Constitution. Lamartine, Servières, Dufaure, and other distinguished members, made effective speeches and carried through many of the prominent features of the government charter. When completed, the instrument was adopted by a vote of 737 to 36. A President, a Council of State, and one Chamber, were then constituted branches of the government. The president was to be elected for three years, and to be eligible for a second term of office. His



Raspail.

powers were very closely circumscribed. The Assembly was to be permanent; the new one was to be returnable the day after the old one expired; it could not be prorogued by the president; if it adjourned, it was to leave a committee to convoke it upon emergency. The power of this body embraced the greater part of the functions of government.

The 10th of December was the day fixed for the election of a president. Cavaignac was the candidate of the moderate republicans—Lamartine would not consent to be put in nomination until a short time previous to the election. The monarchists of every shade gave their support to Louis Napoleon Bonaparte; while the ultra republicans cast their votes for Ledru Rollin, Raspail, and others of the same opinions.

The result of the election was as follows:—

|  |           |
|--|-----------|
| Louis Napoleon Bonaparte.....  | 5,534,520 |
| General Cavaignac.....   | 1,448,302 |
| Ledru Rollin.....  | 371,431   |
| Raspail.....   | 36,964    |
| Lamartine.....   | 17,914    |
| General Changarnier.....   | 4,687     |
| Sundry votes.....  | 12,434    |
| <hr/>  |           |
| Number of votes actually given.....  | 7,426,252 |
| Votes disallowed.....  | 23,219    |
| <hr/>  |           |
| Number of voters who went to the polls in the }<br>86 departments of France. | 7,449,471 |

Sixty-seven thousand seven hundred and thirty-seven votes were cast in Algeria. Bonaparte had a majority of votes in 84 out of 86 departments. Among the votes disallowed were 1200 given at Brest for the Prince de Joinville.

"It is probable that more than three-fourths of the whole adult male population of France voted on this occasion; and never in history was so enormous a mass of people put at once in motion with such perfect order. Seven millions and a-half of men going to the poll at the same moment, without the least disturbance, was assuredly a grand sight and a great fact. The result, too, very strikingly illustrated one advantage of universal suffrage, for it showed beyond cavil that the newly-elected president was the choice of the people. He had a majority of nearly four to one over his nearest rival, and of more than two to one over all his rivals together.

"The ceremony of proclaiming the President of the Republic was suddenly and unexpectedly accomplished on the evening of the 20th December. It appears that government had received tidings of a Bonapartist plot to seize the president on his way from the Assembly, and to convey him to the Tuileries with shouts of '*Vive l'Empereur!*' In order to defeat all such projects, the report was industriously spread that the installation would not take place until after the lapse of some days; and Paris, on the evening of the 20th, knew only by the cannon of the Invalides that the ceremony had been actually completed.

"The members of the National Assembly having taken their



General Changarnier.

places, and the report of the Electoral Committee having been read, General Cavaignac rose, and in a brief address, delivered with remarkable dignity, resigned, in his own name and that of his colleagues, the civil authority with which the Assembly had invested them. M. Marrast, the president, put the question of adopting the report, whereupon the whole Assembly, with the exception of a few on the extreme left,

rose and affirmed it by acclamation. M. Marrast then formally proclaimed Citizen Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte President of the French Republic from that day until the second Sunday of May, 1852, and called upon him to take the oath required by the constitution. M. Bonaparte then ascended the tribune; and the President of the Assembly read the form of the oath, as follows:—

“‘In the presence of God, and before the French people, represented by the National Assembly, I swear to remain faithful to the Democratic Republic, and to fulfil all the duties which are imposed upon me by the constitution.’

“M. Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, raising his hand, said with a loud voice, ‘I swear it.’

“At this moment, a salvo of artillery from the Invalides proclaimed the administration of the oath.

“*President Marrast.*—‘We call God and men to witness the oath which has been taken. The National Assembly records it, and orders that it shall be transcribed in the proceedings, inserted in the *Moniteur*, published and promulgated in the form of legislative acts.’

“The President of the Republic, remaining in the tribune, then delivered the following address:—

“‘The suffrages of the people, and the oath which I have taken, prescribe my future conduct: my duty is traced out, and I shall fulfil it as a man of honour. I shall see enemies of the country in all those who shall attempt to change by illegal means that which the whole of France has established. Between you and me, citizen representatives, there cannot be any real difference; our wishes, our desires are the same. I, like you, wish to replace society on its basis, to confirm its democratic institutions, and seek all proper means for alleviating the sufferings of that generous and intelligent people which has given me so shining a testimony of its confidence.

“‘The majority which I have obtained not only fills me with gratitude, but also gives to the new government the moral force without which there is no authority. With peace and order, our country can raise itself again, can heal its wounds,

bring back those men who have been led astray, and calm their passions.

“Animated by this spirit of conciliation, I shall call around me men honourable, capable, and devoted to their country; assured that, maugre the diversities of political origin, they will agree in emulating your endeavours for the fulfilment of the constitution, the perfecting of the laws, and the glory of the Republic.

“The new administration, in entering upon the conduct of affairs, must thank that which preceded it for the efforts which it made to transmit intact the power of maintaining the public tranquillity. The conduct of the honourable General Cavaignac has been worthy of the loyalty of his character, and of that sense of duty which is the first quality in the chief of a state.

“We have, citizen representatives, a great mission to fulfil—it is to found a Republic in the interest of all, and a government just and firm, which shall be animated by a sincere love of progress, without being either reactionary or Utopian. Let us be men of our country, not men of a party; and, by the help of God, we shall be able at least to do some good, if we are not able to do great things.’

“The speech was received with general marks of approbation, the whole Assembly rising with cries of ‘*Vive la République!*’ M. Louis Bonaparte having come down from the tribune, went up to General Cavaignac and shook him cordially by the hand. The new president was then met by M. Odillon Barrot and his friends of the Right, who escorted him from the hall to the Palace of the Elysée National (*ci-devant* Bourbon,) where he took possession of his official residence, held a sort of levée, and slept in the bed-chamber last occupied by his uncle, the Emperor, in Paris.

“The following is the ministry that evening gazetted:—Odillon Barrot, President of the Council and Minister of Justice; Drouyn de Lhuys, Foreign Affairs; Leon de Maleville, Interior; Hippolyte Passy, Finance; Leon Faucher, Public Works; Bixio, Commerce; General Rulhières, War;

De Tracy, Marine. By a decree in the same Gazette, General Changarnier was appointed Commander-in-chief of the National Guard and Garde Mobile of the Seine, and of all the regular troops of the first military division. Another decree named Marshal Bugeaud Commander-in-chief of the Army of the Alps. Among other appointments which followed were those of the ex-King of Westphalia, 'the General of Division, Jerome Bonaparte,' to be Governor of the Invalides ; and of the president's cousin, M. Jerome Napoleon Bonaparte, to be Ambassador to England.

"The *bourgeoisie* now sang jubilee: *Redeunt Saturnia regna*.\* The revolutionary cycle was closed, and things had come round to the point from which they started ten months before. On the 24th of February, M. Odillon Barrot was sent for by the king; on the 24th of December, the same M. Barrot was sent for by the President of the Republic."†

There existed a Constitution and an Assembly. But the return to despotism was resolved; and it was not long before the freedom for which so much blood had been shed became a shadow—a name, bright, but without substance. Rights, oaths, and solemn limits all crumbled beneath the wheels of the red Juggernaut of selfish ambition.

\* The Golden Age returns. † "Revolutions of 1848," by W. S. Chase.







Garibaldi.

## CHAPTER III.

## THE ITALIAN REVOLUTIONS.

FOR many years previous to 1848, a strong party existed throughout the Italian states, anxious to secure for Italy, union, independence, and constitutional freedom. This party had active, eloquent, and determined leaders, who waited but the shock of revolution in France or Austria to strike an open and vigorous blow for the establishment of their favourite government.

From the outset, the year 1848 was marked by important events in Italy. On the 12th of January, the fête-day of King Ferdinand of Naples, the people of Palermo and all the great towns of Sicily, rose simultaneously, and drove out the Neapolitan troops. On the 28th, the Neapolitans received a constitution modelled on the French charter of 1830, but in some respects more liberal. The Sicilians were

offered their share of this constitution, but they refused to accept it. All the royal troops sent against them were defeated. They elected their own parliament, which was opened at Palermo on the 25th of March by Ruggiero Settimo, President of the Provisional government; and on the 13th of the following month, the deposition of King Ferdinand and the independence of Sicily were formally decreed.

In Tuscany, a series of liberal measures were crowned, on the 1st of February, by the issue of a constitution better than any of the others granted by the former native princes of Italy to their subjects, and in one item superior to that framed by the Sicilians for themselves. The Tuscan constitution secures freedom of commerce and toleration of all religions; whereas, under the other four Italian constitutions the only religion recognised and permitted is the "Christian Catholic Apostolical Roman." The Sardinian kingdom was the next to obtain a constitution, which was published on the 5th of March, and Count Cesare Balbo, a well-known writer and statesman, was appointed to form a responsible cabinet. The Piedmontese constitution is like the Neapolitans in its prominent features; but the king reserved to himself more power. The cardinal point in the qualification of electors was the payment of taxes of an amount to be determined by an electoral law. The king, at the same time reduced the price of salt, a state monopoly.

Warned by the direction of the popular current, the pope gave the Romans a constitution, which was proclaimed on the 15th of March. The most notable provisions of this constitution were as follows:—The College of Cardinals was retained; and there was also a Senate and a Council of Deputies. The senators were appointed for life by the pope, and they were chosen from among lawyers and ecclesiastical officials, and persons possessing an income of 4,000 scudi (about \$5,000) per annum. The Council of Deputies was elected in the ratio of one deputy to every 30,000 souls. A small property qualification was imposed upon electors and candidates. The Roman Catholic faith was indispensable in all. The two



Admiral Ruggiero.

councils had the control of secular matters, but they were precluded from interfering in ecclesiastical affairs. The taxes were under the control of the deputies. The College of Cardinals and the Privy Council administered affairs during an interregnum. On the day of the proclamation of this constitution, the Jesuits were ordered to withdraw from the papal dominions.

Toward the close of 1847, it occurred to the people of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, that while they were unable to cope in arms with Austria, they might damage her finances by abstinence from tobacco, snuff, and the lottery, which she monopolized. Accordingly, on the 1st of January, 1848, no one was to be seen smoking in the streets except the Austrian soldiers and their friends. The populace, of course, was not slow to manifest its displeasure against those who refused to take the national pledge; crowds gathered around the smokers, insisting that they should lay aside their cigars, sometimes civilly, sometimes with cries and hisses. Quarrels arose, and the soldiers began to act with their usual brutality. Count Casati, the Podesta of Milan, remonstrated with the police and soldiery on their violence. Pretending not to recognise him, they arrested him and kept him a prisoner, until the municipal council demanded his release.

The Austrian authorities then determined to act upon the theory of Marshal Radetsky, that "three days of bloodshed yield thirty years of peace." To give the soldiers the necessary fury, a report was spread that a great conspiracy had been discovered in the city against the military; and a handbill, full of insults and threats, purporting to be clandestinely published by the Milanese, was circulated. No efforts were made to discover the authors of this offence. This was a blunder of the police. To be consistent, they should have maintained their rigorous press laws.

On the morning of the 3d of January, the soldiers were amply supplied with brandy. As the day advanced, they appeared in the streets, drunk and furious, and strove to provoke the Milanese to breaches of the peace. Being un-

successful in this, they, when evening came, drew their swords and struck all who crossed their paths. Sixty-one persons were carried to the hospital, all more or less wounded, some mortally. Among the latter, was the Councillor Manganim, an old man and a sworn friend of Austria. All Italians were exasperated at this deliberate enormity, and the clergy of Milan boldly denounced the dreadful crime.

Five days after the massacre of Milan, another outrage was committed in Pavia. The students of the University were following the corpse of one of their companions to the grave, when they were met and grossly insulted by two Austrian officers. The patience of the young men gave way and they attacked the officers. Soldiers came to the aid of the dastardly commanders. The students suffered severely in the affray, but one of the officers was killed upon the spot and the other mortally wounded. Many other outrages of the same nature were perpetrated in the other Austrian garrisons, but those we have mentioned will suffice to show the savage spirit of the rulers of northern Italy. To quell the boiling indignation excited by their misdeeds, the Austrian authorities had recourse to their usual nostrums—brute force, diabolical lies, and pettifogging tyranny. Martial law was proclaimed, and multitudes were visited with fines, imprisonment, or exile.

When the Milanese received the news of a revolution in Vienna, they flocked to the government-house and demanded the release of all political prisoners, and the formation of a National Guard. The soldiers on duty at the palace, fired a volley over the heads of the crowd as it is said; at all events, no one was wounded. The crowd began to waver, when a boy of sixteen drew out a pistol and fired at the soldiery, shouting, "Vive l'Italia!" The cry kindled a blaze of enthusiasm which was irresistible. The crowd rushed forward. The guard was overpowered. O'Donnel, the vice-governor, was made prisoner; and the tri-colour banner was planted on the palace. Some Croats afterward fired on the people, and this was the signal for a general rising. Instead of

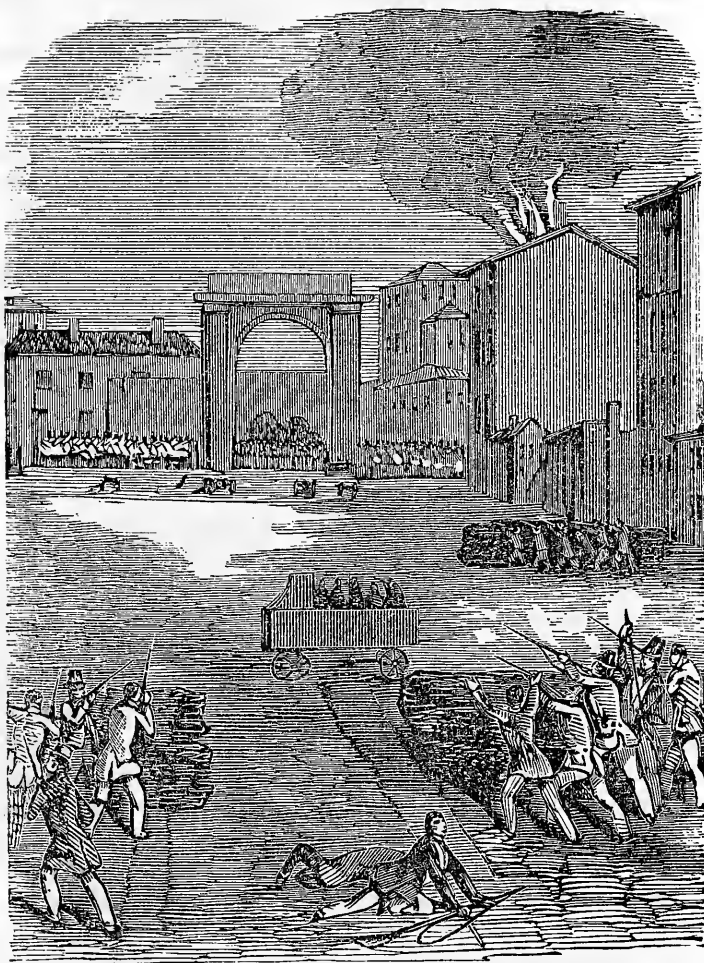
sending all his force to clear the streets, Radetsky drew his men within their barracks. By the time he had made up his mind for action, the streets were barricaded, and it was impossible to retake the city without a bombardment. The marshal's hesitation was caused by his want of information concerning the state of things at Vienna. He was afraid that a constitutional government at home might call him to an account for a second massacre of the Milanese.

The people were poorly supplied with arms, yet they displayed no hesitation in encountering a disciplined army of twelve thousand men. The conflict was kept up day and night until the 23d. The great object of the Milanese was to get possession of one of the gates, in order to communicate with their friends of the neighbouring country. On the evening of the 23d, they succeeded at the Porta Tosa. A set of brave young fellows made up bundles of fascines, which they rolled before them, firing from the shelter thus afforded, while a flanking fire from the houses, covered their advance. In this way, after long efforts, the artillery-men were picked off one by one, until at length, a dash was made, and the gate and the houses covering it were set on fire. Radetsky's position was no longer tenable. He therefore began his retreat towards Verona.

Most of the other cities of Lombardy followed the example of Milan, and Venice not only revolted, but declared itself a republic. Mantua and Verona remained to the Austrians. As soon as Radetsky was established within the walls of Verona, he was safe, and the cause of independence was virtually lost; for that city was the military centre of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom.

On the day that Radetsky began his retreat, the Piedmontese army, under Charles Albert, crossed the frontier, and on the 27th its vanguard arrived under the walls of Milan. The king, however, declined to enter the city, "until he should have become worthy of so brave a people by gaining a victory over the Austrians."

The Provisional government of Lombardy included Casati,



Attack upon the Porta Cosa at Milan.

Borromeo, Litta, and other men of worth and talent, who had assumed authority while the fight was pending in the streets of Milan.

Often afterward did they take credit to themselves for the civic heroism they displayed in thus exposing themselves to the superior danger of such a position; for, said they, had the Austrians been successful, our lives would have been the first forfeited. But they were not so brave as they wished themselves to be thought; in fact, their official conduct warrants the belief that their chief care was to make themselves safe in any contingency. During the whole struggle they abstained from every kind of measure that could be regarded as seriously imperilling the Austrian interest; and when the war was over, they might fairly represent themselves to the victor as loyal subjects, who, by appearing to fall in with the popular humour, had been enabled to control it and render its outbreaks harmless. Some of the members of the Provisional government were Monarchists, others were Republicans; for their mutual convenience they agreed upon a perfectly neutral policy—the bane of all popular enthusiasm. Their administration was a series of enormous blunders in matters of police, finance, military affairs, &c. The direction of the police was committed to a triumvirate that really swayed the whole political power of the state, and the ablest member of which was Baron Sopransi, a zealous partisan of Austria, and the brother-in-law of General Welden, by whose orders, and under whose own eyes, seven-and-twenty Lombard volunteers were first mutilated and then shot in the town ditch of Trent.

The parishes of Lombardy are grouped together in districts, over each of which there is a commissary of police, who exercises a dictatorial power like that of the Turkish cadis. The first act of the revolutionary government should have been to remove these men, yet they were all allowed to remain and plot for the return of their old masters. The country was overrun with vagabonds whom the Austrians let loose from the bagnio of Mantua, and with pretended deserters from the Austrian troops. In many a district chief town the



commissary had a little prætorian guard, composed of these and other bad characters; and by this means the Austrians were regularly informed of all the movements of the Lombards, while the latter remained in ignorance of what it most imported them to know. It was also in consequence of this permanent conspiracy, tolerated by the government, that the provender and other things intended for the Piedmontese army fell several times into the hands of the enemy; many villages were burned, and the lives of land owners were threatened by revolted peasants.

There is a powder manufactory at Lembrate, a few leagues from Milan. One morning in the beginning of May, when no one dreamed of the possible approach of the Austrians, it became known in the capital that the Lembrate magazine had been attacked during the night by a party of Austrians in disguise. Who then had guided them? How had they advanced almost to the gates of Milan without any notice being taken of their march? The mystery remained unsolved; and the director of the police maintained a disdainful silence. Another day the *générale* was suddenly beaten, and the National Guard hurried to the city jail, from which five hundred thieves and robbers were in the act of making their escape. These fellows were all armed with muskets, and had their pockets filled with ammunition; they had seized the keepers of the prison and locked them up. After promptly quelling the revolt, and securing all the prisoners, the National Guard handed the keepers over to justice, as guilty of having armed the culprits, and connived at their escape. There was the more ground for such a suspicion, because the prison keepers had not been changed after the revolution; and a considerable amount of Austrian coin was found in the pockets of both prisoners and keepers. The matter was nevertheless allowed to drop.

The finances were not better administered than the police: they were managed on a bad system, and by knavish hands. The most shameful embezzlements were practised in the ministry of war. The able and earnest Count Litta, who at

first held that office, having been forced to resign, he was succeeded by Collegno, an honest but weak man, whose passive character was more acceptable to the Provisional government. The paymaster-general was a merchant notorious for having committed four fraudulent bankruptcies. The Lombard army and the free corps wanted shoes, coats, great-coats, and almost every object of prime necessity. The arming of the people was stopped for want of money, and yet the incomes of all the affluent families were poured into the public treasury. Nothing was talked of in the town but the audacious robberies committed by one or another member of the administration. The whole population of Lombardy were eager to take up arms in the cause of independence. In twenty-four hours an army of partisans might have been set on foot that would have been a most useful auxiliary to the regular forces. But every man who offered himself in the capacity of a volunteer was treated with indignity by the Piedmontese officers, and by the Lombard ministry of war, which was entirely subservient to the King of Sardinia. Those volunteers who had been accepted in the first days of the revolution were left without pay or provisions, exposed to needless and profitless dangers, and persecuted in every way that low cunning could contrive.

“When the Piedmontese army reached Milan on the 27th of March, Radetsky was still within a distance of five and twenty miles of the city. Had Charles Albert made two or three forced marches, he might easily have prevented the concentration of the Austrian forces, and extinguished the war. Instead of this he allowed Radetsky to pursue his march without molestation for a week, and shut himself up securely in Verona. On the 8th of April, Charles Albert forced the Austrian lines on the Mincio in three places between Mantua and Verona. He then crossed the Adige at Pontone to the north of Verona, cutting off Radetsky from the valley of the Trent, and from a junction with Nugent, who was advancing to his aid from the north-east. After some manœuvring in this direction, the Piedmontese army was obliged to fall back

on its former position, and on the 22d, Nugent brought Radetsky a reinforcement of 15,000 men.

“Durando, the commander of the 14,000 Roman auxiliaries, might have prevented this calamity, but evidently would not. Durando was a brave officer, of unblemished reputation, who had served with distinction in the civil wars of Spain; but the hopes excited by his name were in all respects miserably disappointed. His headquarters were at Ferrara, from which no entreaties of the Milanese could induce him to move, until his troops themselves forced him to cross the Po, and march against the enemy. Immediately there appeared a manifesto from Pius IX., announcing that the sole mission of his army was to defend the integrity of the Roman territory, and reiterating the injunction laid upon the general never to assume the offensive against Austria. This manifesto, which was said to have been followed by secret orders to General Durando to fall back upon Ferrara, excited a formidable commotion in Rome and the provinces, and an insurrection seemed imminent. Charles Albert sent word to Durando that, having actually entered upon the theatre of the war, he had thereby become bound to obey no other orders than those of the commander-in-chief, namely, himself, Charles Albert, and must therefore march, without regard to any injunction to the contrary which he might receive from other quarters. The Roman army supported the protest of Charles Albert, and the population of Rome insisted that the pope should retract his manifesto. Durando resolved to march, and was some days afterward authorized to do so by Pius IX. himself. There is reason to fear, however, that the pope’s secret orders remained still in force. No other supposition can afford a plausible explanation for his general’s subsequent conduct. We cannot acquit them both; we must condemn the one or the other. Either the pope was guilty of duplicity, or Durando of base perfidy.

“After crossing the Po, the Roman general regulated his movements with great exactness by those of Nugent, advancing as the latter retired, retrograding as he advanced, and

always studiously shunning an engagement; while the Austrians devastated every thing in their way, and seized town after town. At length, having seen Nugent make his unopposed entry into Verona, Durando wheeled round and took up his quarters in Vicenza, which had sustained a bombardment of several hours by Nugent, and, with the help of some corps of volunteers under General Antonini, had compelled him to raise the siege.

“Meanwhile Charles Albert had laid siege to Peschiera on the 18th of May. The Austrians attempted a diversion for its relief, but were foiled and beaten at Goito. Peschiera was taken on the 30th, after two days’ fighting, and Charles Albert established his headquarters there. While he was busy pushing his conquest farther north along the banks of the Lago di Garda, Radetsky made an unexpected sortie from Verona, and appeared before Vicenza with 30,000 men. The King of Sardinia, who had just taken Rivoli after a sanguinary battle, sent a courier to Durando to know how long he could hold out; ‘Six or eight days, at least,’ was the reply; and Charles Albert took his measures accordingly to succour the town. No attempt was made to prevent the Austrians from getting possession of the heights that commanded the town. This was a misfortune, but it was not irreparable. General Durando seemed to think otherwise, for the bombardment was no sooner begun than he hoisted the white flag. The citizens instantly compelled him to withdraw it and continue the fight; but, in the very midst of the engagement, the unlucky white flag again appeared on another side of the town. The enraged inhabitants fired upon it and brought it down; but though the sign of surrender fell, the thing it represented was realized; the town capitulated after eight hours’ fighting, with an army within its walls for its defence, and another army at the distance of a few hours march to succour it. Durando had stipulated that he should be allowed to quit the city with his soldiers and such of the citizens as chose to accompany him, with arms and baggage, and he engaged for himself and his troops not to take up arms against Austria for three months.

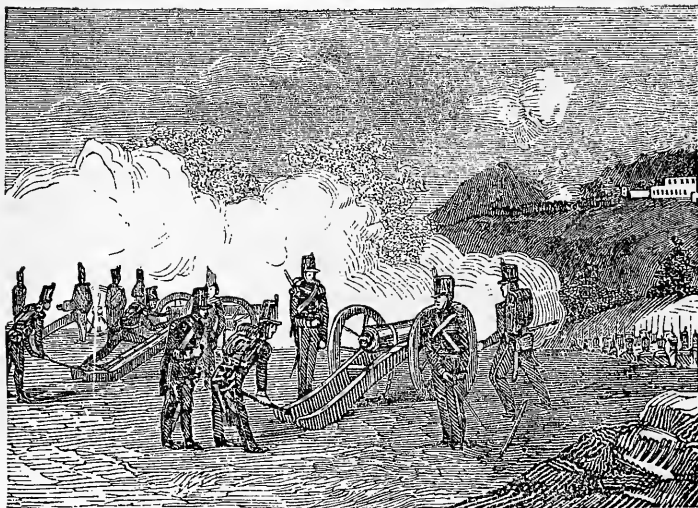
“Thinking that the Austrians were still before Vicenza, Charles Albert marched against Verona on the 12th of June; but already Radetsky had returned thither, and the Piedmontese were compelled to retire within their lines. In the subsequent part of the month Radetsky captured Padua and Palma Nuova, and made prize of a large quantity of artillery and warlike stores. The road to Vienna and Innsprück now lay open to him, and he was master of the whole Venetian territory, with the exception of the capital. Thither General Pepe, the commander of the Neapolitan contingent, retired. The regular soldiers under his command left him, obeying the order for their recall issued by the King of Naples. A few legions of volunteers alone remained with him; a third at least of those that had entered Lombardy had returned home in disgust, and told their countrymen who were prepraing to march for the seat of war, ‘They do not wish for us there. Why should we thrust our services upon them against their will?’”

“In the beginning of July we find the Piedmontese army occupying a line of about thirty miles in length,—from near Mantua on its right, to Rivoli on its left. The headquarters, which had been at Peschiera, were removed to Vallegio, and afterward to Riverbella, and the strength of the army was gradually accumulated on the right wing in order to invest Mantua, while the left wing was most imprudently weakened. The lines of Rivoli were not defended by more than three thousand troops, and those of Somma Campagna, extending from Bussolongo on the Upper Adige, to Vallegio on the Mincio, by not more than five thousand.

“If the siege of an impregnable place like Mantua served no other purpose, it at least enabled Charles Albert to rid himself of most of his remaining auxiliaries.”\*

The students of the University of Pavia, the Tuscan volunteers, and about one hundred Swiss, were barbarously sacrificed by this miserable commander.

\* “Revolutions of 1848,” by W. S. Chase.



Attack upon the heights between Bussolongo and Vallegio.

Radetsky seized the game thrown within his reach. He succeeded by well-contrived feints in keeping Charles Albert's attention fixed upon the south, while the Austrians quietly passed the Upper Adige, at the foot of the mountain that overlooked Rivoli, and had already descended on La Corona before the main body of the Piedmontese became aware of the movements. All the lines of Rivoli were soon carried. General Aspre, with 25,000 Austrians, assaulted the lines of Somma Campagna, which were defended by only five thousand Piedmontese. After a gallant struggle, the Piedmontese gave way. The Austrians regained the whole territory between the Upper Adige and the Lago di Garda and the Mincio, from the foot of Montebaldo, and from Bussolongo to Vallegio, Peschiera being placed in a state of complete isolation.

Charles Albert at the head of 30,000 men attacked the heights between Bussolongo and Vallegio on the morning of the 26th of July. The battle lasted from five in the morning

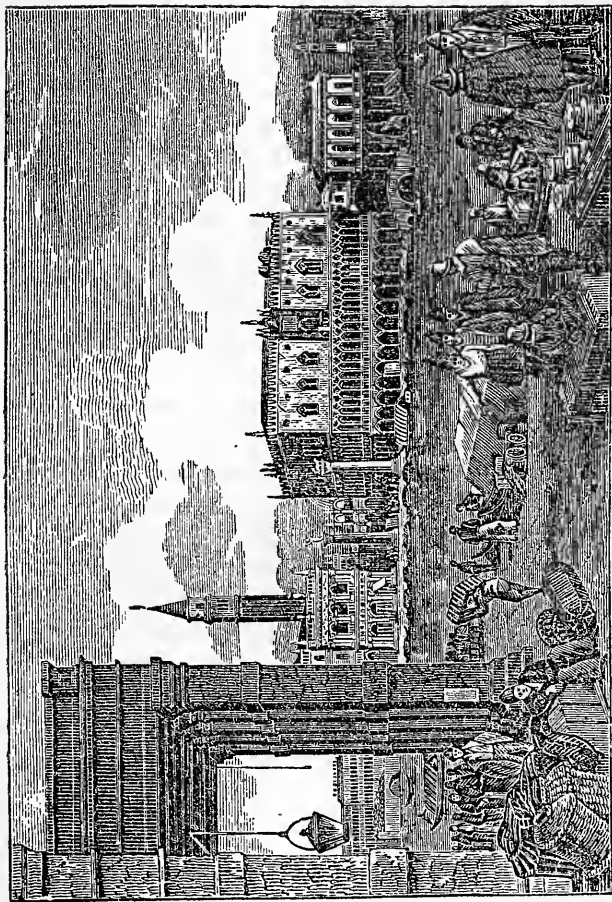
until five in the evening, the Piedmontese fighting with desperate courage until Radetsky came up with a reserve of nearly 20,000 men from Verona, when they were compelled to give way. The Austrians obtained a decisive victory.

Charles Albert retreated to Milan. His army was reduced to 20,000 men. But the Milanese prepared for a vigorous defence, and with the aid of the king, hoped to maintain their city against the Austrians. They were doomed to disappointment. Charles Albert entered into a capitulation with Radetsky, and set out for his own dominions. On the 7th of August, the Austrian marshal again ruled in Milan. Two or three days afterward, an armistice of forty days, between the Sardinians and the Austrians, was published. It restored the *status quo ante bellum*. But although the Piedmontese evacuated Venice, the city maintained its republicanism as well as its independence.

Parma and Modena again adopted the Austrian system, and General Welden even made an incursion into the Legations and occupied Bologna. The inhabitants, however, expelled him. The pope remonstrated, and Welden was censured and recalled.

About two-thirds of the inhabitants of Milan evacuated the city as the Austrians entered it. The convicts of Porta Nuova were set at liberty and joined the soldiers in the work of plundering the deserted houses, the churches, and the national museums. Generals Rivaira and Roger, detained in Milan by illness, were condemned to death. The process of confiscation being inconvenient to the authorities, recourse was had to a more profitable system of forced contributions, the management of which was intrusted to a committee, headed by that very Baron Sopransi, who was the director of the Milanese police under the Provisional government. On the 11th of November, Radetsky issued a decree, in which he called upon some two hundred families to supply him with 200,000 livres. Such was the order reigning in Milan.

“The revolt of Venice, like that of Milan, immediately followed the news of the revolution in Vienna, which was



Great Square of St. Mark, Venice.



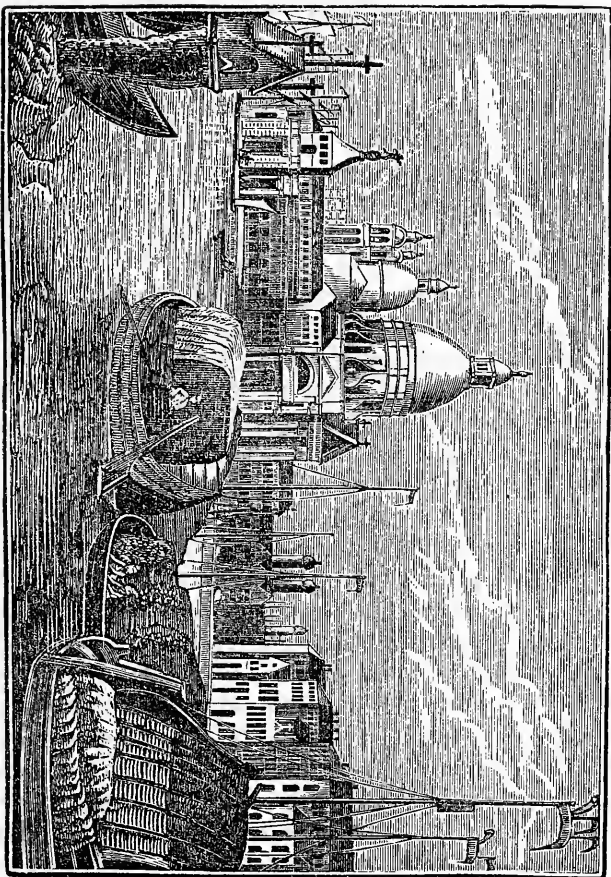
published by Count Palfy, the governor, in the theatre on the evening of the 17th of March. Next morning the people congregated in St. Mark's Place, and effected by force the deliverance of their venerated leaders, Manini and Tommaseo, whose civic virtue had been rewarded by Austria according to her wont. As public functionaries they had dared, in December, 1847, to address memorials to the Austrian government, praying that it would perform its own promises and observe its own laws. For this offence they were thrown into prison, from which they were released by their countrymen to become, one of them president and the other minister of the resuscitated Republic. The expulsion of the Austrians was effected at Venice with even more surprising facility than at Milan. Marinowich, the commander of the arsenal, was slain in the first outbreak, and Count Zichy, the military commander, whom seven-and-twenty years' residence in Venice had made more than half Italian in feeling, withdrew his troops without a blow. The Republic of St. Mark was unanimously proclaimed; but the Venetians were censured as schismatics by the predominant party, which at that time advocated the scheme for one united kingdom of Upper Italy; Manini was induced to surrender the government to a Sardinian commissary; Charles Albert lent the city a small sum of money and a garrison of two thousand men, and for the first time in the history of Italy the cross of Savoy superseded the winged lion of the Republic. Upon the defeat of the Sardinian army, however, the people withdrew the conditional allegiance they had plighted to a sovereign who merited neither their respect nor their gratitude, and once more they proclaimed the independent government of their own worthy political chief, Manini.

"To meet the increased demand on her impoverished exchequer, Venice began by applying to all the Italian towns, and to some foreign ones, for a loan; subscriptions were everywhere opened, but they remained almost blank. It was then proposed to pawn some of the magnificent objects of art with which Venice abounds, but the administration sternly

withstood every proposal of the kind. Meanwhile the absolute cessation of all trade and employment demanded the most strenuous efforts to succour the poorer classes. The Venetian capitalists promptly responded to the call. The government issued bills for four millions of florins, the payment of which was guaranteed by the personal liability of twenty of the wealthiest men in Venice; and such was the confidence placed in the honour of those generous men, that whilst Venice was attacked by sea and land, her paper money passed current at par throughout all Italy. According to a recent calculation, the citizens of Venice contributed to the republic in the course of the year, either in cash or in liabilities, a sum of thirty millions of florins.”\*

The land army defending Venice consisted of nearly twenty thousand men, almost all of them volunteers. Many of the legions were commanded by French officers. Not one case of desertion occurred within six months. In December, the blockade upon the side of the sea was rendered impracticable by the presence of six French, sixteen Sardinian, and thirteen Venetian vessels. Several encounters took place between the Austrians and Venetians, in which the latter were very successful. On the 22d of October, the fort of the Cavallino, occupied by about two hundred and fifty Austrians, with three pieces of cannon, was taken, and the Austrians were pursued until they passed the Drave. On the 27th of October, General Pepe led a sortie of fifteen hundred volunteers against the fortified position of the Austrians at Mestro and Fusino, whom they defeated, killing or wounding two hundred, and capturing five hundred men. The Venetians displayed the greatest fortitude and spirit during the siege. They suffered for the want of supplies of all kinds, but no murmurs escaped them and no traitors raised their foul hands to aid the enemy. But the struggle was vain. No ally came to the aid of the brave patriots. They looked for the intervention of the great powers; but were woefully disappointed.

\* “Revolutions of 1848,” by W. S. Chase.



Venice.

Venice was at length compelled to surrender unconditionally, her forts, arsenals, arms, &c.

In the mean time, the armistice between Austria and Sardinia was renewed, and Charles Albert employed the interval in recruiting and reorganizing his forces; whether he seriously contemplated another campaign or desired to secure a favourable peace, remained for the time unsettled. Federation and independence had become darling ideas of the Italian mind, and the governments were forced to bow before them. Democratic ministries were established, and the ordinary heading of their proclamations was, "*Vive la Costituente Italiana.*" This state of things did not foreshadow the peace for which the King of Sardinia probably longed. The Grand Duke of Tuscany approved of the design of an Italian Confederation. But the base, cruel, and cowardly King of Naples was bent upon thwarting it by every means in his power.

To the infamous Ferdinand of Naples, belongs the black distinction of having committed the most appalling crime that stains the revolutionary records of 1848.

"On the 14th of May, the deputies assembled to deliberate on the formula of the oath which was to be taken by the king and the members of the Chambers, in the church of San Lorenzo Maggiore. The deputies were resolved to swear fidelity to the king and to the constitution of the 29th of January, 'without prejudice to the changes which the Chamber might think proper to introduce into it.' This latitude was positively given to the Chambers by the decree which promulgated the constitution. Ferdinand demanded that the oath should be taken without restrictions, and several deputations, which waited on him to entreat that he would consent to the formula adopted by the deputies, received for answer that his resolution could not be shaken.

"The intentions of the king were then clearly apparent, and were well in accordance with the presence at the palace of the infamous Del Carretto. Cambosso, his sinister lieutenant, and his associates, for some days past had been going through the popular quarters of the city to prepare almost

openly the horrible reaction which was to fill the city with ruin and blood. The Deputies and National Guards then resolved on resistance, and for the first time Naples beheld barricades erected. At ten o'clock in the morning of the 15th, all the principal streets were completely blocked up, and the city presented the most extraordinary appearance. The Royal Swiss troops, the body-guard, infantry, cavalry, and artillery, with lighted matches, thronged around the palace, and established themselves on different points.

“The bold demeanor of the liberal party intimidated Ferdinand; and, as usual with him in all critical moments, the subject of his thoughts was how he might take back by stratagem the concessions which he was ready to make. At eleven o'clock he made known that he was ready to yield to the wishes of the Deputies; he announced that the troops were about to withdraw, and begged the National Guard to remove the barricades and retire. The character of the king, however, was too well known, and the trap too apparent. The National Guard replied, that it would not quit the barricades until the decree had been issued, and the Deputies exhorted them to maintain this resolution. Things were in this state when an accident brought on the conflict. A National Guard having fallen down, his musket, which was probably cocked, went off. The National Guards placed behind the barricade considered it was an act of aggression on the part of the Swiss, and fired. The latter returned it, and the engagement, once begun, could not be put a stop to.

“The National Guard of Naples amounted to about ten thousand men; among them were nearly two thousand nobles and six thousand *employés*.\* These took no part in the affair, so that the force of the National Guard was reduced to about two thousand men; to which number may be added about five hundred Calabrians, who were at Naples at the time. This little band performed prodigies of valour. At Sainte Brigitte, the Swiss mounted five times to the assault,

\* Persons who held places, of different grades, under government.

and five times they were repulsed. But the small quantity of ammunition possessed by the National Guards was soon exhausted, and the defenders of the barricades retired into the houses, whence a shower of projectiles was hurled on the heads of the troops. The artillery then entered the Largo del Castello, and a heavy fire of grape was poured on the barricades, which still held out. The Swiss, who had been joined by the Royal Guard, pursued the National Guard. The houses to which they had retired were entered, the doors broken open, and women, old men, and children, were slaughtered, and in many instances their bodies thrown from the windows. Where a door could not be broken open, the cannon were brought to bear upon it, and the inhabitants fell victims to their involuntary hospitality. Robbery and plunder were added to these indescribable scenes of desolation. The Swiss, who were the first to arrive, laid their hands on the money and all such valuables as they thought worth taking. Then came the Royal Guards, who carried off furniture, linen, and other similar movables; lastly, the lazzaroni, to whom the refuse was acceptable. Murder was committed under the slightest pretext, such as a simple political imputation, and frequently from no other incitement than the pillage of a richly-furnished house.

“In the beginning of the affray the lower orders seemed disposed to side with the National Guard, but *being offered by the king and the troops the privilege of pillage*, they went over to their side. Unheard-of atrocities were perpetrated by the lazzaroni and the troops. In one house were shot a father, mother, and four children. Other victims were dragged alive through the streets to be butchered, struck as they went along and insulted by the police and the soldiers, who compelled them to cry, ‘*Viva il Re!*’\* When they refused they were pricked with the points of bayonets. The Royal Guard murdered two sons of the Marquis Vassatori in his own palace: the father went stark mad. The emis-

\* “Long live the King.”

saries of Del Carretto, and, according to some accounts, Del Carretto himself, were employed in goading on the rabble to these acts of atrocity.

“The massacre lasted eight hours, and might have continued longer but for the indignant interference of the French Admiral Baudin. The law of nations having been violated by the Neapolitan government, the admiral informed the king, that if the disorder was not stopped within one hour, he would bring up his fleet from Castel-a-Mare, and land nine thousand men to defend the rights of humanity and of nations. When all was over the National Guard was suppressed, the Chamber of Deputies was dissolved, martial law was proclaimed, and the white Bourbon flag was substituted for the tricolour. Who shall blame the Sicilians if they abhor the yoke of such a king as Ferdinand, and yearn to be quit for ever of his incorrigible race?”\*

Ferdinand refused to recognise the independence of the Island of Sicily, and determined to regain control of the people by force of arms.

The Neapolitan expedition set sail on the 29th of August. It consisted of two frigates and twenty steamers, carrying altogether fourteen thousand men. On the 31st it anchored off Reggio, south of Messina, and the news of its arrival reached Palermo the same day, and would seem to have taken the Sicilian government by surprise; not that the preparations in which the King of Naples had been engaged for some months had been a secret for any one; but the Sicilians had rested secure in the belief that the French and English admirals would in no case allow the Neapolitan vessels to pass out of the bay of Naples. They did allow them, however; and, in the plentitude of their courtesy, they even permitted the king's fleet to bombard Messina; but when that ruthless deed of vengeance had been executed, and not until then, the French and English admirals did interfere, and put a stop to all further hostilities.

\* “Revolutions of 1848,” by W. S. Chase.

The unexpected arrival of the Neapolitan armament before Messina, instead of striking terror into the Sicilians, stirred all their energies into convulsive activity, and excited to the highest degree their hatred of Naples, and all that belonged to it. The Minister for Foreign Affairs said to the assembled parliament, on laying before it his despatches from Messina, "Gentlemen, we bring you good news." The whole house, members, strangers and all, instantly responded with shouts of joy; and then the Chamber, with a dignity worthy of the Roman senate, passed disdainfully to the order of the day. At night Palermo was brilliantly illuminated, and the people went about hurrahing for the *good news*, singing warlike and patriotic songs, and heaping curses and abuses on King *Bomba*, (one of their countless nicknames for Ferdinand.) The government instantly put in vigorous operation the measures most necessary for the defence of the country. The National Guard had been organized and partially armed in the course of the summer; it was now *mobilized*, that is, made liable to serve in any part of the island; and it was decreed that lists should be opened for the enrolment of volunteers, and that seven camps should be formed at Milazzo, Taormina, Catania, Syracuse, Girgenti, Trapani, and Palermo. The Minister of War was appointed commander-in-chief; an extraordinary commission was nominated to go into the provinces and summon the people to arms; all the horses and mules were put in requisition; and, as temporary expedient for defraying the first expenses, a loan was to be raised on the plate of the churches and convents.

Meanwhile the telegraph announced the bombardment of Messina. Having been repulsed with considerable loss in a first attempt to land at *Mare Grosso*, the Neapolitans kept up a steady fire for four days, not on the forts occupied by the Messinese, but on the town itself; and bombs and rockets were discharged upon it from the citadel, the only point which had remained in the power of the King of Naples. Messina is open towards the sea; the citizens fought with great bravery, but they were ill-armed and ill-commanded,



and the regular garrison was weak; so that, as the Neapolitan army was four times more numerous, it might have taken the city at the point of the bayonet without any very extraordinary effort. The four days' bombardment, therefore, was an act of wilful, brutal cruelty, opposed to all the laws of civilized warfare. When the Neapolitans landed on the beach of La Contessa, the suburb of that name, all the houses along the road from the sea to the gates of Messina, and a large portion of the beautiful city itself, had ceased to exist. A few Messinese sold their lives dearly behind the smoking ruins of their homes; five thousand families had fled to the mountains, and thousands of women, children, and wounded, sought protection in the three French and English vessels in the roads. It is not surprising that after such inhuman and disloyal treatment, the Messinese should have cruelly retaliated upon the prisoners who fell into their hands: it is not true, however, that they roasted and ate them, as the Neapolitan journals alleged. At any rate, the conquerors were not backward in making reprisals upon the defenceless inhabitants of the sacked city.

A victory so dearly won was enough to make General Filangieri think seriously of the resistance he was likely to encounter in the prosecution of his expedition; he therefore, issued a proclamation offering a general amnesty, suspension of the tax on grist, and the erection of Messina into a free port. These concessions were intended as preliminaries to his march on Catania and Syracuse; but throughout all Sicily an explosion of rage had ensued upon the news of the catastrophe that had befallen Messina. Lanzerotte, the commandant of Syracuse, being suspected of cowardice or treachery, was seized by the populace and torn to pieces; and the same fate would infallibly have happened to any man who talked of submission. In Palermo, the government durst not, if it would, have shown the least hesitation; the word treachery, once uttered among the people, would have been a death sentence for the most popular leaders. There was no alternative but to proclaim war to the death, and to push for-

ward with the utmost energy the preparations for a desperate resistance. The government being short of funds, provisionally suspended the payment of the notes called bank policies, a measure which painfully affected a great number of the humbler classes, and which would, on any other occasion, have produced the worst effects. Vito d'Ondes Reggio, the Minister of the Interior, left Palermo to arrange a line of defence in the eastern part of the island; and twenty thousand pikes were prepared to supply the want of muskets. The peasants flocked from all parts of the country to Palermo; and from the mountains of Alcamo and Corleone came eight thousand swarthy-visaged descendants of the Moors, in their picturesque garbs, each man with a carbine slung over his stout shoulder.

“But beneath this bold and martial bearing lurked many serious anxieties. The government, even while it declared that the Sicilian nation would perish to the last man rather than submit or enter into any compromise with Naples, clearly foresaw that the ruin of all the ports in the island was inevitable, and that the only hope of resisting oppression lay in abandoning the whole seaboard, and retiring into the mountains. The people loudly vented their indignation against the inertness of their two allies, and the whole press echoed the popular cry; but a favourable change was produced in the public mind by the arrival of the French packet *Hellespont*, and the English corvette *Sidon*, the former freighted with two thousand muskets and four hundred barrels of powder, consigned to the Sicilian government, and the latter bringing news of an agreement for an armistice provisionally concluded on the 11th of September, between Captain Nonay of the French ship *Hercule* and Captain Robb of her Majesty's ship *Gladiator*, on the one part, and General Filangieri on the other. Protected by the English and French fleets, the armistice was respected by both belligerents, and the island enjoyed perfect tranquillity during the remainder of the year. Meanwhile the Sicilians were prevailed on by their friends to abate something of their

pretensions, and consent to treat with Naples for a settlement of their quarrel on the basis of the constitution of 1812. The rights of his crown being no longer contested, King Ferdinand accepted, but with undisguised repugnance the mediation of France and England.”\*

The changes of ministry in Sardinia and Tuscany were effected by force, but cost no bloodshed. In Rome, the new policy was initiated by the murder of Count Rossi, the able but haughty and tyrannical premier. On the 15th of November, the Chamber of Deputies was to open at one o'clock, and a large crowd was consequently assembled around the gateway of the Palazzo della Cancelleria. When Rossi appeared they hissed and hooted. The haughty count confronted them with an expression of scorn, whereupon a man rushed forward and plunged a dagger into his neck. The dying man was taken up to the rooms occupied by Cardinal Guzzoli, and in five minutes expired. This deed appears to have been unpremeditated. But many of the Romans approved it and applauded the murderer. Groups of mingled soldiers and citizens, with lighted torches, were heard singing in chorus along the streets,

“Benedetto quella mano  
Che il tiranus pugnato.”

“Blessed be the hand which smote the tyrant.”

The death of Rossi was the signal for an insurrection for which Rome was already predisposed. At half-ten A. M. on the 16th, a gathering began in the great Piazza del Popolo, and symptoms of a menacing character were perceptible in the leading streets. The Civic Guards and troops of the line, in fragmentary sections, mingled with the people; and the carbineers, whose uniform had hitherto been invariably arrayed against the populace, were now for the first time seen to fraternize with the mob. From the terrace of the Pincian Hill the spectator could count nearly 20,000 Romans,

\* “Revolutions of 1848,” by W. S. Chase.



Pope Pius IX.

in threatening groups, and mostly armed. Printed papers were handed eagerly about, all having the same purport, and containing the following Fundamental Points: 1. Promulgation and full adoption of Italian nationality. 2. Convocation of a Constituent Assembly and realization of the Federal Pact. 3. Realization of the vote for the war of independence given in the Chamber of Deputies. 4. Adoption, in its integrity, of the Programme Mamiani, 5th June. 5. Ministers

who have public confidence—Mamiani, Sterbini, Cambello, Saliceti, Fusconi, Lunati, Sereni, Galletti.”

“Their ostensible object was to proceed to the Chamber of Deputies and present these five points in a constitutional manner. But the chiefs, finding themselves in such unlooked-for force of numbers, and many of the deputies being found mixed up with the crowd, the cry was raised to march to the pope’s palace. It was now one o’clock. The members of the Chamber presented themselves as the mouthpiece of the multitude, and transmitted the five points to the sovereign. In about ten minutes, the President of the late Ministerial Council, Cardinal Soglia, came forth from the private apartment, and informed the deputation that his Holiness would reflect on the subject and take it into his best consideration. This message was deemed unsatisfactory, and a personal audience was insisted on for the deputation. An audience was granted; Galletti, the former Police Minister, (and strange to say for such a functionary, the most popular man in Rome,) appeared on the balcony, and stated, that the pope ‘would not brook dictation.’ Matters grew critical. The Swiss Guard was resolute, but it numbered no more than two dozen men: escape or defence was equally difficult. Suddenly, one of the advanced sentinels was seized by the mob, and disarmed. The Guard instantly flung back, closed, and barred the palace-gates, and presented their arms at the mass of the besiegers. The die was now cast. From the back streets men emerged, bearing aloft long ladders wherewith to scale the pontifical abode; carts and wagons were dragged up and ranged within musket-shot of the windows, to protect the assailants in their determined attack on the palace; the cry was, ‘To arms! To arms!’ and musketry began to bristle in the approaches from every direction. Fagots were produced and piled up against one of the condemned gates of the building, to which the mob was in the act of setting fire, when a brisk discharge of firelocks scattered the besiegers in that quarter.”\*

\*“Revolutions of 1848,” by W. S. Chase.

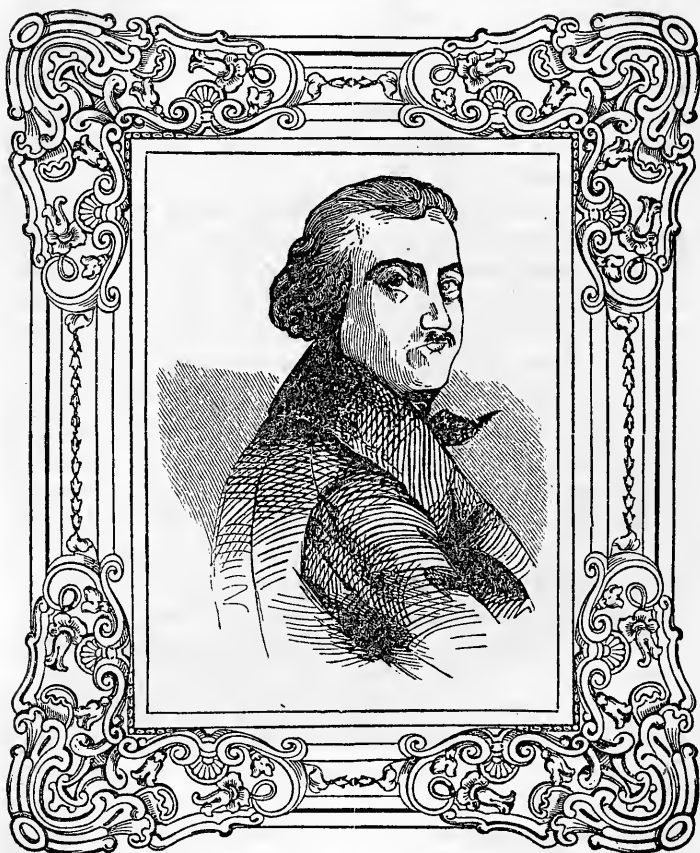
The drums were now beating throughout the city, and groups of regular troops and carabinieri reinforced the assailants. Random shots were aimed at the windows and responded to. The outposts, one after another, were taken by the people, the garrison within being too scanty to man the outworks. The belfry of St. Carlino, which commands the palace, was occupied. From behind the equestrian statues of Castor and Pollux a group of sharpshooters plied their rifles; and at about four o'clock, Monsignor Palma, private secretary to his Holiness, was killed by a bullet. Two six-pounders were drawn up and pointed at the gates; but a truce was demanded, and a deputation again entered the palace bearing "the people's ultimatum," which was a simple repetition of the "fundamental points" cited above. If those terms were not granted, the palace was to be stormed, and every soul in it put to the sword, "with the sole exception of his Holiness himself." Pius no longer hesitated, but sent for Galletti, with whom he remained in conference from six till nearly seven, when the following new ministry was formally proclaimed to the people:—Foreign Affairs, Mamiani; Home and Police, Galletti; Finance, Lunati; Commerce and Public Works, Sterbini; War Minister, Cambello; Public Instruction and President of the Council, Rosmini. The last name is the only one which the pope had selected himself: the others were all named by the people. Sterbini was the leading writer in the "*Contemporaneo*." The Abbe Count Rosmini declined the task proposed to him by the pope's selection, and was replaced by Monsignor Carlo Muzzarelli, a popular and enlightened *prelato*:

On receiving intelligence of these events, the English admiral sent a steamer to Civita Vecchia to receive the pope, should he be a fugitive; and the French government hastily despatched three steam-frigates, with a force of 3500 men, to protect the pontiff. He does not appear, however, to have been exposed to any personal danger; but being resolved not to give even the implied sanction of his presence to the ministry imposed upon him by the populace, he committed the

fatal imprudence of quitting his dominions as a fugitive. His flight was the signal for the dispersion of his cardinals. The veteran, Lambruschini, escaped in the uniform of a dragoon; while Pius fled in the less appropriate guise of a servant to the Bavarian ambassador, and, crossing the frontier, arrived at Gaeta, where the King of Naples received him with worshipful homage.

Deputations were sent by the Roman ministry to solicit the pope's return; but they were not even allowed to cross the Neapolitan frontier. As the pontiff persisted in declaring the ministry to be illegal, and all its acts null and void, an act was passed by both Chambers, provisionally depriving the pope of temporal power, and decreeing the election of a "Provisional Supreme Junta," for the purpose of carrying on the government. The act states, that "The commission shall discontinue its functions on the return of the sovereign pontiff, or when he shall himself appoint, according to constitutional forms, a substitute of his own selection." Neither of these conditions being fulfilled, an act was passed, at the instance of the Junta, and in compliance with the demands of the people, convoking a Constituent Assembly for the Roman States. The Chambers were then dissolved on the 29th of December.

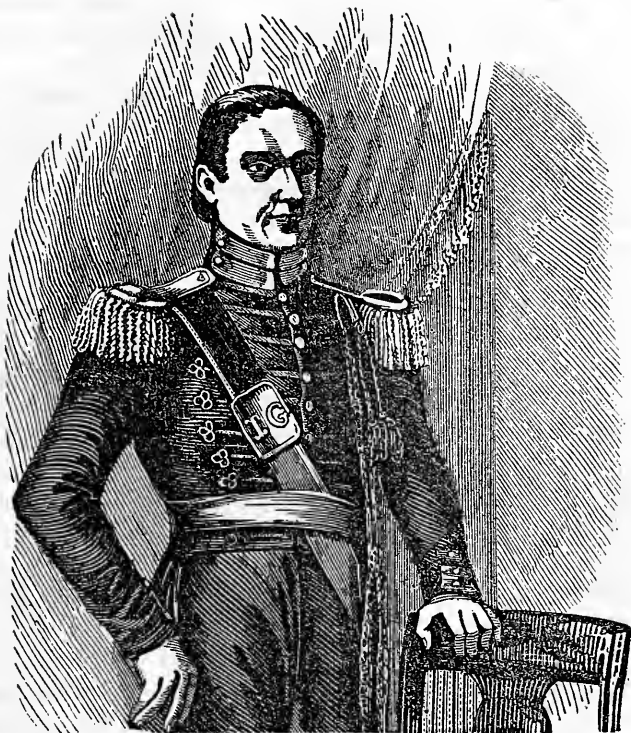
At sunset that evening, the Castle of St. Angelo, by the consecutive discharge of 101 great guns, announced to this metropolis and the world in general, that the dynasty which had reigned over Rome for 1048 years had come to a close, and a new government was to be called into being by the mandate of the whole population assembled in a constituent representative body by universal suffrage. The great bell of the capitol, which only tolls for the death of a pope, pealed solemnly. It was exactly on the 24th November, (the fatal night of the flight of Pio Nono,) that, in the year of our Lord 800, Charlemagne arrived in Rome to be crowned on Christmas day of that year by Leo III., and to institute and formally corroborate the donation of Pepin by the erection of the papal sovereignty.



Mazzini.

The Constituent Assembly comprised many able members, and its proceedings were dignified and consistently liberal. As soon as it was ascertained that the pope not only would not return, but denounced the movement of the people, the Assembly proceeded to elect an executive Triumvirate. The wise and eloquent Joseph Mazzini was the most active and influential of the three men who exercised the executive power.





General Avezzana.

The brave and patriotic General Avezzana was his valuable aid. Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, treacherous to the principles of the French Republic, resolved to send an expedition to crush the Roman patriots and restore the pope's temporal authority. On the 22d of April, 1849, a considerable French force, under General Oudinot, sailed for Italy, and after landing at Civita Vecchia, marched toward Rome. The troops had hitherto been kept in ignorance of the object of the expedition. The general now issued a proclamation to them, stating "that the government, being resolved to main-

tain in all quarters of the globe their old and legitimate influence, would not allow the destinies of the Italian people to be at the mercy of a foreign power, or a party which is but a minority."

The Romans knew that the statement of the French general was entirely unfounded. They acted with a resolution worthy of their ancestors. On the 24th of April, the Constituent Assembly declared itself permanent—passed a resolution denouncing as a traitor any deputy who should desert his post—despatched a protest to General Oudinot, and issued an address to the people. The members then declared that, while willing to receive the pope as head of the church, they had discarded his temporal sway. At the same time, they called upon the lately constituted Triumvirate to assist them in supporting the declaration. The people responded to the sentiments of their leaders. Men of all classes armed themselves, private houses were fortified, barricades thrown up, and every means taken to inspire a spirit of patriotic enthusiasm. "On the first sound of the alarm-bell," says one of the placards, "the holy sacrament will be exposed in the principal churches, to implore the safety of Rome and the triumph of the good cause."

On the 30th of April, the French arrived before the city. They found the citizen soldiery, under General Garibaldi and other leaders, ready to receive them. While the French were planting their batteries and preparing for an assault, shots were fired from the wall and adjacent houses. At half-past ten, the attack commenced at the Porta Cavalleggeri; but so spirited was the resistance, that in less than two hours Oudinot's vanguard was driven back. At that moment, a body of Roman troops was thrown toward St. Paul's Church; while another body of armed citizens, carrying a red flag, hurried to defend the Porta Cavalleggeri. By noon, the French had posted their artillery upon a bastion; but Garibaldi attacked them at different points. A conflict with cannon, musketry, and rockets took place. At one o'clock, the assailants were silenced. The Triumvirate immediately published the follow-

ing proclamation: "Romans, our honour is safe; God and our muskets will do the rest—energy and order. Be worthy of your fathers. Let no voice spread alarming news. Let no shot be fired in the direction of the city. Let every shot be for the enemy; and let every one cry, *Viva la Repubblica!*" At two o'clock, the attack was renewed; but after a spirited contest of two hours, the French were compelled to retreat.

In the mean time, M. Frapold, the Roman envoy at Paris, protested in the name of his government against the interference of the French in Italian affairs, declaring at the same time that his government was willing to accept the mediation of France. He received answer, that as far as France was concerned, Rome was the pope; and that France interposed to prevent too violent a revolution. The news of Oudinot's repulse threw Paris into an uproar, and gave great strength to the republican opposition to Bonaparte's government. But the President declared that, since the Romans would not receive the French as friends, they should receive them as foes; and said he would send reinforcements to General Oudinot.

On the 13th of May, the French army attempted to cross into Rome by a bridge; but the bridge was blown up, and the assailants desisted. General Oudinot then commenced a blockade, which was maintained until early in June, at which time the French succeeded, after hard fighting, in taking possession of Villa Pamfila, the church of St. Pancras, and other points. We condense from General Oudinot's official report the account of his subsequent operations up to the 6th of June. "On the 4th," says the general, "at half-past eight in the evening, the trenches were opened at a distance of three hundred metres from the wall. At this part the ground is very uneven, and covered with vines and hedges. The tracing of the parallel, and the distribution of the workmen, were very difficult; on some points the work could not be undertaken before midnight. At this moment I ordered a feigned attack on the side of Villa Pamfila. The result of this diversion surpassed my hopes; all the efforts of the Romans were turned toward the gate of St. Pancras, which they

might suppose to be seriously menaced. The works of the parallel were not for an instant disturbed, and there was not a man wounded on this point during the night. The artillery was engaged during the whole night of the 4th in constructing two batteries—the left to reply to the fire of the bastion, the right to silence the fire of Mount Testacio, where the enemy had made preparations of defence. The battery on the left opened its fire at six in the morning, and silenced the bastion. The battery on the left did not commence its fire till toward noon: its action was shown by the interruption of the fire of Mount Testacio. The night of the 5th was employed in perfecting the trench, and in the construction of a battery in the centre of the parallel. The Villas Corsina and Valentina, occupied by our troops, were the constant objects of the fire of musketry, and even artillery of the city. Our batteries have also replied to the enemy. Our establishment at Ponte Molle was consolidated without serious opposition; the broken arch has been repaired, so as to permit with ease the passage of columns.”

The disposition of the Roman soldiery and inhabitants are thus set forth by a gentleman writing from that city. “The government and the inhabitants, from all the indications of public feeling I can gather, seem bent on resisting to the utmost, though after six weeks of harassing suspense and uncertainty, interruption of business, and almost total deprivation of pleasure, their spirits are no longer so buoyant as in the first days of May. Proclamations, issued yesterday and to-day, state that families disturbed by the enemy’s shot will be accommodated with lodgings in the public establishments of the capitol or the palaces of the nobility, and require the immediate surrender of all muskets or carbines in the possession of individuals, with a view to their being employed in the defence of the town. Various irregular bodies of men, squadrons of the Seven Hills, &c., are being formed.” On the 8th, the same writer says: “The internal state of the city, as regards public quiet, is all that could be wished. There are no symptoms of movement by any other than the republican party.”

The French continued their approaches with slow but sure success, until the 12th, when General Oudinot announced to the Triumvirate his intention to take the city by storm. He was answered that the Vatican, St. Peter's, and the palaces of the nobility were mined and charged with powder; and that before the assailants should obtain entrance, the besieged would fire those works, and die amid their ruins. The attack was made on the 4th, and during that day and the next, the fire of cannon and musketry was incessant; on the 15th, Garibaldi made a sortie with fourteen hundred men, but was driven back with loss; yet after a continuous cannonade of twenty-four hours, the French effected no available breach.

General Oudinot continued his advances upon Rome until the close of June. Some spirited attempts were made upon separate points of the defences; shells and other missiles were thrown into the city; and the garrison was repeatedly summoned to surrender. But notwithstanding the loss of their property, the destruction of many monuments of art, and their personal sufferings, the soldiery and inhabitants still persisted in their resistance. Early in July the Constituent Assembly unanimously voted the constitution of the republic, and ordered it to be deposited in the capitol. They also ordered funeral services to be celebrated in St. Stephen's for those who had fallen in defence of the republic.

But it had now become evident that further resistance was useless. The French had surrounded the city; their cannon pointed toward its most populated quarters; the garrison, though determined, was small; and an assault, besides causing great slaughter, would in all probability terminate in the capture of the city and the ruin of some of its finest monuments of art. To prevent such a calamity, negotiations were opened with the French; terms of capitulation were signed; and Rome opened her gates to a French army. At the same time Garibaldi passed through the city with ten thousand men, and succeeded in effecting his escape. The Assembly announced by proclamation the arrival of the French troops, and recommended abstinence from all vengeance, denouncing

it as useless, and unworthy the dignity of Roman citizens. The French army entered, July 3, in the evening; the soldiers cleared the streets of barricades, and by dark the troops were consigned to their various quarters. A new government was formed; the troops were stationed in places favourable for suppressing disturbances; some companies were despatched in pursuit of Garibaldi; and in order that the Romans might not mistake as to the nature of the protection to be afforded them by their new deliverers, the arms of the pope were run up in a conspicuous place.

Such was the end of the Roman republic of 1848. Never did any people show more capacity for self-government, or more firmness and dignity in the maintenance of their rights, than the Romans, subsequent to the flight of the pope. Their statesmen evinced extraordinary powers for administration, and there was every reason to believe that the golden dreams of Rienzi were about to be realized—that Rome was again to be free, prosperous, and powerful—and that the Italians were to be raised from that dark pit of ignorance and slavery into which the oppressions of centuries had plunged them. But a foreign hand, stretched, too, from a government calling itself republican, crushed Rome's free institutions, and led back the ruler who had but few voices among his people. The crime was worthy of the Bonaparte who has since violated a solemn oath taken to support the French constitution, and it will stand in the same catalogue with the division of Poland. The ghost of the Roman republic will ever rise to prevent foreign sympathy for the people who permitted its government to commit such an outrage.



Mierolawski.

## CHAPTER IV.

## REVOLUTIONS IN GERMANY AND POLAND.

THE overthrow of Louis Philippe, of France, was the signal gun for a liberal movement throughout Germany. The people insisted upon the following concessions from their sovereigns:—"A new civil and criminal code for all Germany, ratifying, among other things, freedom of the press, trial by jury and publicity in all judicial proceedings; representative government in the several states, with the right of voting taxes vested in the people alone; civil equality, without distinction of creed; and lastly, that the people, as well as the princes, should be represented in the council of the German Confederation." These demands had been made by the Libe-

ral party for thirty-three years, and the princes had not only rejected them, but punished those who preferred them. They were now extorted in the space of three weeks from every ruler in Germany.

The King of Wurtemberg made the first act of submission on the 3d of March. The sovereigns of Bavaria and Hesse Darmstadt complied with the demands of their subjects and then abdicated. On the 13th, the old system perished in its metropolis, Vienna, after a street tumult (for it was not a fight) of three or four hours; and on the 18th, the new order of things was established in Berlin, and consecrated by a lavish outpouring of blood.

"The King of Saxony insisted on retaining the censorship of the press, and would not hear of any 'insensate projects' for the security of his subjects' rights. His subjects, however, persisted in their demands; the king was 'moved to tears,' but not to compliance; on the contrary, he called out his troops, but they refused to act against the people, and the king was constrained to grant every thing.

"King Ernest of Hanover, of course, began by refusing all concessions. When further pressed, he talked of abdicating; but finding his beloved Hanoverians quite unmoved by that threat, he resigned himself to his fate, and even submitted to the mortification of receiving Stübe as one of his ministers,—a man who had spent many years in prison for his resistance to King Ernest's illegal and tyrannical acts.

"A dramatic scene, recorded in a letter from Oldenburg, is curious and significant. A deputation, headed by Baron von Thanne, one of the wealthiest landed proprietors in the duchy, waited on the grand duke on the 10th of March, with a petition for a representative government, and other constitutional grants. The baron made a speech, in which he expounded the object of the petition in very forcible terms. The duke, unaccustomed to such language, interrupted the speaker, saying, 'Sir, do you mean to threaten me?' 'Such is not my intention, prince!' replied Von Thanne, 'we merely express wishes, but they are the unanimous wishes of



the people.' 'You demand a constitution,' observed the duke: 'that is a very difficult matter, requiring much time and long meditation; and, moreover, at a moment like this, we should not be in too great a hurry.' 'Allow me,' said Von Thanne, 'to remind your highness, that *you made me precisely the same reply seventeen years ago*, in 1830, when I had the honour to claim, in the name of the people, a similar concession!'

"The King of Bavaria's abdication ought, for the honour of royalty, to have taken place sooner. On the 19th of February very serious riots, threatening to end in the king's deposition, were caused in Munich by one of the freaks of Louis's mistress, Lola Montez, whom he had created Countess of Lansfeldt. Lola was obliged to quit the city. Having returned to it on the 9th of March, she was again removed by the police, and the king was compelled to annul the letters of naturalization he had conferred on her, and with them her right to the estate from which she derived her title. But the sacrifice was too painful to the infatuated old monarch: and his abdication followed within a week after the decree extorted from him against his fascinating mistress.

"The revolution in Vienna began on the occasion of the opening of the Diet for Lower Austria. The business of the day had not proceeded more than half an hour, when it was interrupted by a mass of people, who forced their way into the hall, clamouring for reform. Count Montecuculi, Marshal of the Diet, immediately went to the palace, followed by a crowd of people, to present a petition to the emperor, praying the same reforms as had been granted in other parts of Germany. The Archduke Ludwig, chief of the Home Department, informed the count that there was no disposition to make concessions. A cabinet council, however, was summoned, and the Marshal of the Diet and those who accompanied him waited in vain for its determination, from twelve to four o'clock. The people became exasperated by this delay; the students harangued them; the tumult continually increased.

Suddenly the troops appeared and fired upon the unarmed multitude, killing and wounding a great number. Four pieces of cannon were planted on St. Stephen's Platz, and the gunners stood by them with lighted matches. Meanwhile the alarum-drum was beaten; the Burgher Guard appeared in arms, and were received by the populace with loud acclamations; but all further conflict was prevented by the announcement that Prince Metternich had resigned, that the emperor had acceded to the popular demands, and had confided the city to the keeping of the students and the burghers. A new ministry was formed under the Presidency of Count Kolowrath, and various measures of grace were announced in rapid succession. An amnesty was declared in favour of all political prisoners in Galicia and the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom. One hundred and fifty Polish and Italian prisoners were dismissed from the fortress at Spielberg, infamous in the annals of Austrian despotism. The Secret Court of Police was abolished, and a letter was published from the minister, Baron Pillersdorf, to the police officers of all the Austrian provinces, in which he tells them that a great many of their former functions are now illegal. They are forbidden to employ spies, 'since the free press will not fail to reveal dangerous conspiracies and plots, if any exist.' Liberty of the person and a kind of *habeas corpus* are officially proclaimed in this letter.

"The constitution proclaimed on the 25th of April completed the first stage of the Austrian revolution. According to this scheme, afterward abrogated by another revolutionary movement, the Imperial Parliament was to consist of two houses. The Upper House was to comprise about two hundred members, one-fifth of whom was to be nominated by the emperor. The heads of princely houses were to have seats in this assembly; and the rest of its members were to be elected by landed proprietors paying one thousand florins and upwards of annual taxes. The Lower House was to be constituted on the broadest democratic basis. Every man

was to have a vote and be eligible as a representative. The number of members was to be about four hundred.”\*

Frederick William of Prussia was expected to favour, if not to head the liberal movement. But his weakness and indecision were soon made apparent. On the 6th of March, the king closed the sittings of the Diet he had called into existence the year before, promising that it should thereafter meet periodically. But the citizens of every town in the Rhenish provinces cried out for the broadest reform. Breslau, Konigsburg, and Berlin echoed the demand. On the 13th of March, a great open-air meeting was held in Berlin. This ended in a tumult, in which the troops acted with great violence. For nearly a week, Berlin was a continued scene of dire disorder. On the 15th, though the people offered little more than a passive resistance, ten persons were killed and upward of a hundred were wounded by the military. While such was the state of the capital, bloody riots occurred in Breslau and Konigsburg.

On the morning of the 18th, a deputation from Cologne arrived in Berlin, and at once waited on the king, and presented a petition for reform. Frederick William promised to accede to their demands. They replied, “We have been so often deceived and put off, that we cannot wait any longer. We must insist on a proclamation being issued at once, or your majesty will cease to reign over your Rhenish provinces.” The king was much hurt, but after some parley, submitted. Threatened, on the one hand, with the loss of a part of his dominions, and, on the other, flattered by the prospect of an imperial crown, he published a proclamation, demanding the formation of a confederation, and appointing the 2d of April for the convocation of a Federal Diet to provide liberal institutions for all Germany.

The people of Berlin received the king's manifesto with every demonstration of delight. An immense crowd collected at the palace to express the gratification of all classes.

\* “Revolutions of 1848,” by W. S. Chase.



Insurrection in Berlin.

At two o'clock his majesty appeared at a window, and was received with tremendous cheers. Unfortunately, two regiments of dragoons, stationed in the inner court of the palace, on hearing the shouts, supposed that the populace were making an attack; defiling, therefore, at a slow pace through the gateway, they formed in line, and began to force the people back by bearing on the mass with the chests of their horses. At this moment two shots were fired from a body of infantry; the discharge was accidental, and no one was wounded, but the consequences were not the less disastrous. The people, imagining that a most treacherous design had been formed to massacre them, immediately rushed to arms. Barricades were thrown up in every street, and riflemen took post at windows and on house-tops, whence they fired upon the soldiery. The latter were by no means reluctant to engage in the fray; on the contrary, they were animated by the scorn and hatred which the garrison of Berlin has always professed for the *bourgeoisie*, and they were further incensed by what they considered the unfair fighting of their opponents. They looked on the fighters from the windows and house-tops as assassins, and gave them no quarter; several corner-houses, from which the firing was particularly sharp, were taken, and every one within was put to death. Twelve were thus killed in a house in the Fredericks strasse, among them a young Pole, who frantically begged the lieutenant to spare his life; but it was impossible to control the rage of the soldiers: in another house, a *café*, eight men were bayoneted in the billiard-room. The people, on the other hand, fought with no less valour and determination, and for nearly fifteen hours the fight raged with undiminished fury. The firing, which began soon after two P. M. on the 18th, ceased at five in the morning of the 19th, the king voluntarily desisting from the contest without having been actually defeated. He felt, no doubt, that even a victory, won after a further continuance of so horrid a strife, might be fatal to his tenure of the crown.

“At seven o'clock on the morning of the 19th, there was

published an address to the inhabitants of Berlin by the king, assuring them that the conflict between the people and the soldiery was purely the result of an unfortunate misunderstanding, and entreating mutual forgiveness and oblivion of the past on both sides. The good-natured Berliners responded with alacrity to this appeal, and again they thronged to the palace to ratify the compact proposed to them by their king. At eleven o'clock Frederick William appeared on a balcony, and was received with a cordiality that was certainly surprising under such circumstances; he afterwards went down into the square, declared his consent to the arming of the people, confided himself to their safeguard, and as a procession passed him bearing the bodies of some of the dead and wounded, he uncovered his head, and uttered words of the deepest regret and respect for the fallen. A general amnesty was announced; the military were sent out of the town; orders were given for the immediate formation of a Burgher Guard, in which the students of the university were to be incorporated; and a new ministry of a very liberal character was appointed, including Dr. Bornemann and Dr. Camphausen, representatives of the middle class, whose talents and eloquence had been conspicuous in the Diet of the preceding year.

“To the honour of the Berliners it deserves to be recorded, that from the moment the fight had ceased they exhibited no spirit of revenge; they even praised the bravery of the troops, and cheered them as they left the town with flying colours and the music of their military bands. Even in the heat of the conflict but few acts of wilful injury to private property were committed. The Royal Foundry and the artillery barracks were reduced to ashes; the furniture of Major Preiss, who was believed to have given orders to fire on the unoffending people, was burned, and the house of the Director of Taxes, and the shop of a glover who had given up some Polish students to the soldiers, were both pillaged. No other acts of violence of this kind were committed, and the words ‘Respect for the property of the citizens,’ were every-

where written by the insurgents themselves on the doors of the houses and shops. The popular feeling was very strong against the Prince of Prussia, and his palace would inevitably have been demolished, had it not been protected by the talismanic inscription, 'National Property.' The prince was believed—we know not on what evidence,—to have counselled the king against making any concessions to the wishes of the nation, and to have made use of very virulent expressions against the people while the conflict was pending. To allay the irritation caused by the prince's presence, it was resolved that he should quit Prussia with all speed, under pretext of a secret mission to the Queen of England.

“The number of those who fell in the deplorable conflict of the 18th of March, was very considerable, but much less than at first it was made to appear by various circumstantial reports, put forth with great pretensions to accuracy. On the popular side the slain may have been about two hundred, of whom one hundred and eighty-seven received a public funeral; as to the wounded, we have not been able to discover any authentic account of their numbers. By an official list of the loss sustained by the military, it appears that those slain on the 18th, or who afterward died of their wounds received that day, were three commissioned and seventeen non-commissioned officers and privates; the list of wounded includes fourteen commissioned officers, fourteen non-commissioned, two-hundred and twenty-five rank and file, and one surgeon. It has been pretended that the losses of the military were studiously concealed, and that great numbers of their dead were conveyed by night to the fortress of Spandau, and there secretly buried; but a story so glaringly improbable cannot be admitted in the face of the document of which we have given the above abstract. The official list gives the name, birth-place, regiment, and battalion of every killed and wounded officer and soldier, so that any suppression of the truth would be liable to immediate detection. There is no doubt, therefore, that the above is an exact statement of the loss up to the 12th of April.

“Frederick William’s position after the 18th and 19th of March was that of a sovereign who had virtually lost a battle against his own subjects, and who was forced to behold the people more masters of his capital than he was himself. Not all the floods of his sentimental and vainglorious rhetoric could conceal that glaring fact. One means, however, presented itself to him by which he might retrieve his lost dignity in the eyes of Europe, and he seized it with a dexterity which would have been admirable but for the fault, common to almost all his majesty’s boldest acts, of coming just after the opportunity had gone by. On the 21st he issued a proclamation, reiterating in still more forcible and explicit terms his declaration that he would head the grand movement for the regeneration of Germany; and thus, instead of allowing the minds of his subjects to dwell on old grievances, he turned, for a while, the whole torrent of popular excitement to new hopes, and questions of larger import, in which it appeared to the Prussians that they and their sovereign must act together.

“On the same day the king rode in state through the streets of Berlin. The black and white cockade of Prussia had been stained with blood; but forthwith his majesty reappeared with the Imperial colours on his helmet; that same ancient German tricolour proscribed at the universities, and which waved over the people’s barricades at Berlin, was now the hopeful emblem of the Imperial power of united Germany. Immense was the enthusiasm with which the king was everywhere greeted by the dense masses, through which his horse could hardly move. “Long live the Emperor of Germany!” cried a voice. “Not so,” replied Frederick William; “that is not my wish—that is not my intention;” a denial which, we must suppose, meant no more than *nolo episcopari*. The King of Prussia, seizing the leadership of Germany as soon as Austria seemed disabled from contending with him for its possession, was not likely to build up a German empire in order to give himself a master. But his intentions, whatever they were, came to naught; for already the people of Ger-



many had themselves taken in hand the work which Frederick William arrogated to himself. The Duke of Brunswick seems to have been the only prince who publicly declared his adhesion to the King of Prussia's leadership. The people of every state except Prussia looked coldly on the claims of the candidate for empire, or rejected them absolutely, and, in some instances, with scorn.

"In accordance with the king's famous proclamation of the 18th of March, the Prussian Diet assembled for the last time on the 2d of April, only to pass a law for convoking a constituent assembly. Having fulfilled that duty, the fantastic imitation of a mediæval institution disappeared like a dream, and from a representation of castes and classes, Prussia rushed at once to universal suffrage. The Diet had no hold on public opinion; its best merit was having placed in a conspicuous and national position such men as Camphausen, Beckerath, Dahlmann, and others, and produced a class of persons previously unheard of in Germany—leaders of a peaceful, patriotic opposition to an administration which scarcely admitted of any check from public opinion.

"But however defective may have been the constitution of the short-lived Diet, it was incomparably superior in moral weight and in efficiency to the heterogeneous body that took its place toward the end of May. The great majority of the members returned to the Constituent Assembly, were men devoid of experience, of character, of ability, and even of common education. A single specimen will suffice to show the trashy character of its debates. It occupied itself during two days, June 8th and 9th, in discussing a motion brought forward by Herr Behrend, that the Constituent Assembly should acknowledge the revolution of the 18th and 19th of March, and declare its authors to merit well of their country. The motion was opposed by the ministry, who, without disavowing the consequences of the conflict, protested that it had not overturned the existing institutions of the land. A multitude of amendments were proposed, and the whole assembly plunged violently into a critical disquisition on the question,

—were the events of March a *revolution* or only a *transaction* between the crown and the people? It was decided in favour of the transactionists by a majority of 196 to 177, to the horror and rage of the minority and their supporters out-of-doors. Some of the representatives, the minister Baron Arnim especially, were assaulted as they left the Chamber, and narrowly escaped with life.

“A regular insurrection followed. The first exploit of the mob was to tear down the iron gates which had been set up a few days before on the Schloss platz, in front of one of the two large courts around which the palace is built. The gates were strong and heavy, yet they were wrenched from their fastenings, a process that must have required immense force; the guard on duty offered no resistance, and the gates were carried in triumph to the university, and deposited in the hall.

“But this affair, which might, comparatively speaking, have passed for a venial frolic in a city given up to such perpetual turbulence and confusion, was but the prelude to a most alarming and disgraceful event. On the night of the 14th of June the arsenal was sacked and pillaged. The scene was a most shameful one; the mob plundered, ravaged, and destroyed every thing. New muskets were flung from the windows and broken; antiquities of priceless value, arms inlaid with silver and ivory, rare models of artillery, were stolen or broken to pieces,—nay, the trophies won by the blood of the people, banners taken in the Seven Years’ war, and in the later campaigns against Napoleon, were torn to fragments and trampled in the mire. It was not so much the desire for arms as for plunder that led to this outrage, for many of the arms were soon afterward sold for a few groschen apiece.

“The history of the Prussian capital during the eight months following the king’s capitulation to the populace on the 18th of March is that of a chronic state of riot, with paroxysms almost as frequent and regular as ague-fits. The middle classes were more demoralized and mob-ridden than

those of Paris; the Burgher Guard failed, in every important emergency, to perform their primary duty of maintaining order; for the sake of peace and quiet, they marched off from the arsenal and let the plunderers have their way; they did not even protect a minister from an invasion of a few hundred men, who stormed his office, broke open the doors, and had to be bought off for money. Severe monetary distress exasperated every other evil. Thousands of artisans, deprived of employment, swelled the malefactor class in a capital that has always from 8,000 to 10,000 liberated convicts among its population, ready to take advantage of any confusion. A rapid succession of ministers passed through the public offices, some designated by the popular party, and some selected as faithful servants of the crown; but none of them had strength to guide the Assembly or courage to resist it, or personal influence enough to disarm the animosity of a populace they could neither serve nor feed. It was the king's weakness and folly that had let loose all these elements of confusion; and lest, haply, they should at last subside, he kept up the turmoil from time to time, by some monstrous outbreak of personal indiscretion. Thus, for instance, so late as the middle of October, 1848, he talked in downright earnest of his divine right as no fiction, but a living truth. On the 15th, Frederick William IV. celebrated the anniversary of his birthday; various congratulatory deputations waited on him, but he received them with any thing but gracious cordiality. To the deputation from the Assembly he said, 'Remember that I am still king "by the grace of God," and that the authorities which are instituted by God are alone able to maintain law and order.'

"At last a crisis arrived; and under the direction, probably, of the more energetic members of the royal family, the king for once pursued a firm, temperate, and consistent course. A sufficient pretext for this change was found in a scene of more than ordinary violence which occurred in the Assembly on the 31st of October. A motion was brought forward by Herr Waldeck, for a resolution calling on the government to

employ all means and forces at the disposal of the State for the defence of the liberties of the people, endangered at Vienna. A mob of several thousands marched to the house to lend this motion the aid of their pressure from without; and many of them went prepared with cords with running nooses, hammers, and long nails or hooks, for the purpose of hanging certain obnoxious deputies. So violent was the temper of the mob, that even Behrend, 'the friend of the people,' was accused of being lukewarm, and not only was he hissed, hooted, and insulted, but his long red beard was singed off by the torches of his quondam admirers. The Burgher Guard for once did their duty, and repulsed the invaders of the Assembly, killing or wounding about a dozen of them, and arresting several others.

"It was expected that Count Pfuel, the premier, would take vigorous means to extricate the government and the country from the degraded and perilous position into which they had fallen. But if the king had confidence in his minister, the minister had none in the king, and he insisted on being relieved from the responsibilities of an office which had been discredited and made almost untenable by the extreme imprudence of the king's language.

"On the retirement of General Pfuel, the king committed the task of forming a ministry to hismorganatic uncle, Count Brandenburg, who was notorious for his attachment to the old Absolutist system. The Assembly thereupon resolved, ulmost unanimously, to send an address to the king, declaring that the country had for some weeks been kept in alarm by the projects of the reactionary party, and that 'a government under the auspices of the Count of Brandenburg, without any prospect of obtaining a majority in the National Assembly, or of gaining the confidence of the country, would undoubtedly bring the excitement to a head,' and produce disasters like those of Vienna. The king received the deputation that waited on him with the address, heard it read, and then left the room without reply; not thinking it constitutional, as he afterward intimated, to give

an answer in the absence of the responsible ministers. As he was turning away, Herr Jacobi, one of the deputation, said, 'We have been sent here not only to hand the address to your majesty, but also to give you information respecting the true state of the country. Will your majesty hear us?' 'No!' said the king; whereupon Herr Jacobi burst out with the angry remark, 'It is the misfortune of kings that they will not hear the truth!'

"After the return of the deputation, a formal reply was sent to the Assembly in writing: it simply asserted the king's right and resolve to appoint the count as his minister. On the 9th was gazetted the list of the new ministry, consisting wholly of persons not members of the Assembly.

"At the meeting of the Chamber on that day, Count Brandenburg, Strotha, Manteuffel, and Ladenburg, entered as ministers. The count arose to address the House; but the president, Von Unruh, stopped him, declaring he could not speak without obtaining the Assembly's leave. Count Brandenburg desisted, handed in a royal decree, and sat down. The decree was read, and was a thunderstroke to the Assembly. Alluding briefly to the display of republican symbols, and to criminal demonstrations of force to overawe the Assembly, it stated that there was a necessity to transfer the sittings from Berlin to Brandenburg, and declared 'the sittings of the Constituent Assembly to be prorogued' to the 27th of the month, when it required that body to reassemble at Brandenburg. The reading of the decree was interrupted by violent acclamations and protests. The minister was apostrophized with cries of 'Never, never, we protest; we will not consent; we will perish here sooner; it is illegal; it is unconstitutional: we are masters.' In the midst of this tumult the Count Brandenburg rose and said:—'In consequence of the royal message which has just been read, I summon the Assembly to suspend its deliberations forthwith, and to adjourn until the day specified. I must, at the same time, declare all further prolongation of the deliberations to be illegal, and protest against them in the name of

the crown.' He then with his colleagues left the hall of the Assembly.

"As soon as the excitement had somewhat abated, the steps to be taken were discussed. Two motions were made; the first by Börnemann, that the ministers should be required to withdraw their message: this was rejected. The second, divided into three clauses, ran in these terms:—'For the present there are not sufficient grounds for removing the sitting of the deliberation to any other place: it will therefore remain at Berlin. The crown is not entitled to the right of adjourning, removing, or dissolving the Chamber against its will. The responsible functionaries who may have advised the crown to issue the above message are not qualified to do so, or to represent the government: on the contrary, they have thereby rendered themselves guilty of dereliction of duty toward the crown, the country, and Assembly.'\*

"The three clauses of the motion were put separately, and they were carried almost unanimously by the members remaining in the Chamber—about 240; but some 59 members of the Right had first withdrawn, and they afterward sent in a protest.

"The members of the diplomatic body quitted their gallery immediately after the passing of the resolutions in defiance of the royal decree. At that stage of the proceedings, M. Nothomb, the Belgian envoy, suggested to his colleagues the propriety of retiring. 'We are accredited,' he said, 'to the king, and not to this Assembly. His majesty has formally declared the Assembly closed: in our eyes it ought to be so considered; and consequently, upon general principles, and in virtue of all constitutional antecedents, I hold it to be my duty to withdraw.' Upon this, M. Arago said, 'My opinion perfectly accords with yours, and I shall also retire.'

\* This is in allusion to a defect in Count Brandenburg's nomination, which had not been countersigned by any minister. This omission was rectified at a later hour by the nomination being sent down, countersigned "Eichmann."

The remaining members of the diplomatic corps coinciding, the whole body quitted the gallery.

“The Assembly resolved to sit in permanence. The president and some thirty members accordingly remained in the house all night. During the evening and night the populace were in a fearfully excited state, hurrying about and grouping incessantly on different spots; but they were everywhere addressed, and entreated to remain peaceable, by members of the Left, who spread themselves through the city on the mission of preaching passive resistance.

The members of the Assembly were called together by Unruh, at five o'clock on the morning of the 10th, and told of negotiations that had passed. Count Brandenburg had sent him a formal note, addressed to him simply as Councillor of State, warning him and the members of the Assembly against the illegality of persisting to meet in Berlin, and making him and them answerable for all grave consequences. The minority of fifty-nine from the Right had formally protested that the Assembly was constituent only; that in the decree which summoned it no place of meeting was mentioned; that the king had, therefore, the right to name the place of meeting, and that it was both his right and his duty to change that place of terrorism for another; that the Assembly was bound to submit; and that further resolutions passed at Berlin were invalid, and could not bind the fifty-nine or the rest of the country.

“Deputations from various bodies had gone to the king with prayers to retract, but had not even had an interview. In the evening of the 9th, the President of the Police had formally demanded of Rimpler, commandant of the Burgher Guard, whether the Guard ‘intended to act’ on the morning of the 10th, in closing by force the hall of the Assembly. The captains of battalions met, and resolved to inform the government that the Burgher Guard would protect the Chamber, as well as the government, from all violence on the part of the people; but that, should the military be called in, the Burgher Guard would close round the theatre of the

Assembly, and stand with ordered arms between the soldiers and the house; and should the military then advance, in defiance of the protest of the Burgher Guard and the president, the former would retire, and take no part in the proceeding. It was in consequence of these resolutions that the Assembly met at five A. M. instead of nine, as it had intended: 225 members were counted.

“Unruh addressed the House in a speech, counselling the most cautious moderation; ‘to maintain the most undeviating attitude of dignified passive resistance.’ The O’Connell maxims were reiterated almost in terms—‘every drop of blood shed through our fault must injure, but cannot benefit our cause;’ ‘the blood of our citizens must not be squandered; it must be reserved for other occasions.’ At eight A. M. the members refreshed themselves without quitting the house. The Burgher Guard surrounded the house with a deep cordon, and the people assembled in vast crowds and testified their sympathy with the representatives; orators addressing them with advice to keep the strictest attitude of peacefulness.

“About noon the Assembly was thrown into a great state of uneasiness, by an announcement that the military were on the move and about to enter the city. Several members rushed to the windows; others seized their out-door habiliments, as if to fly; but they were recalled by general shouts of ‘order!’ ‘To your seats!’ The business of the House was then resumed, and a proclamation to the Prussian people was agreed to, in which the Assembly protested against the unjustifiable acts of the crown, and called on the people to resist by legal means.

“At half-past four the president rose suddenly, and announced that the theatre of the Assembly was completely surrounded by the military. The commander of the Burgher Guard had questioned General Wrangel why he thus assembled his troops. Wrangel answered that he really should be glad to get quickly into quarters: he was protecting the Assembly. *Rimpler*.—‘The Assembly declines your protection: how long



shall you keep your troops here?' *Wrangel*.—'My troops are used to the bivouac: they can remain here a week, if the Assembly sit so long.' At five o'clock the president announced that General Wrangel persisted in blockading the Assembly. He would allow the gentlemen in the house to go out of it, but would allow none to return. 'As to an Assembly, he only knew of one that had been dissolved.' The Assembly resolved, on the advice of Unruh, to submit to force under protest; to withdraw, and reassemble elsewhere next day. This was done. The troops made passages; the deputies marched out two and two; and the Burgher Guard followed them in columns. The people were harangued from houses, and seemed to enter into the policy preached by the Left. They dispersed peacefully, and the town assumed an appearance of mysterious calm.

"On the morning of the 11th, two hundred and forty of the expelled deputies met in the great hall of the Rifle Guild, and proceeded to transact business. Addresses of sympathy poured in from public bodies in Berlin, and from the provinces. The town council voted its freedom to Unruh and two other members. A committee of the Assembly was appointed to draw up a full report of events for national circulation; another committee was to consider and report on the expediency of impeaching the ministry, and in the event of their perseverance in present courses, of stopping supplies. A report that it was intended to disband and disarm the Burgher Guard reached the Assembly, and caused immense excitement. It was resolved that those who advised the measure were traitors to the country; that the Burgher Guard should be forbidden, on pain of being themselves declared traitors, to surrender their arms; and that they should be ordered and directed to defend themselves to the last against all attempts to disarm them.

"Later in the day, a royal proclamation appeared, by which the Burgher Guard was disbanded, in consequence of its illegal deportment on the previous day. The document contained the following, among other passages, in the king's

own peculiar style;—"To all of you (Prussians) I again give the inviolable assurance that nothing shall be abrogated from your constitutional liberties; that it shall be my holiest endeavour to be unto you, by the help of God, a good constitutional king, so that we may mutually erect a stately and tenable edifice, beneath whose roof, to the weal of our Prussian and our whole German fatherland, our posterity may quietly and peaceably rejoice in the blessings of genuine and true liberty for generations to come. May the blessings of God rest upon our work!"

"On the 12th there appeared another proclamation, more especially devoted to the dissolving the Burgher Guard, in these words, after long preliminary statements:—"In conformity with the 3d section of the law of the 17th October, for the organization of the Burgher Guard, the contents of which are as follows,—“The Burgher Guard can be suspended or dissolved by order of the king, for motives to be mentioned in the decree of dissolution. This suspension cannot exceed six months. The order for reforming the Burgher Guard must be published three months after its suspension;" we have declared the Burgher Guard of Berlin is dissolved; and the competent authorities are hereby required to execute this decree.'

"The Burgher Guard met and resolved not to disband, or to yield up their arms. During the day, foreigners arrived and families departed; both ominous events. The people maintained a peaceable attitude, but were with difficulty restrained. The Assembly continued its proceedings in the hall of the Rifle Guild. Deputations and addresses from the provinces were announced: an important one from the Assembly of Representatives of the two Mecklenburgs, applauding the Assembly for its conduct, and promising all assistance in their power; another from Magdeburg, making a similar declaration, and sending five thousand dollars for the deputies, whose allowances were stopped; others from Stettin, Anklam, &c. At six o'clock, General Wrangel determined to place the city under martial-law; and the state of

siege was shortly after proclaimed by officers at the corners of all the principal streets. But at the same time the interval was prolonged one day, for yielding up the arms of the Burgher Guard. The soldiers patrolled in large bodies and dispersed the crowd; and the protesting members of the Left were again seen in all directions conjuring the people to disperse and to be quiet. The artisans of the great iron-works also hastened to and fro wherever excitement arose, and calmed it with the words, 'Be cool—be quiet!'

"The night passed without any outbreak. On the 13th, the proceedings of the Assembly were interrupted by the entry of an officer from General Wrangel, summoning it, as an 'illegal meeting, to disperse.' The vice-president, Plöñies, was in the chair, and he refused to leave it unless by force. The whole house shouted, 'Never, till forced by arms!' Upon this two or three officers, with a party of soldiers, entered, and repeating the summons received the same answer. Thereupon the soldiers advanced, seized the chair upon which M. Plöñies was seated, and carried him as gently as possible into the street, where they deposited him safely. The members followed their president, unanimously protesting against this violation of his dignity. The military having performed their tragi-comic duty with great discretion, withdrew, and the mob dispersed, after bestowing an *extempore* ovation on their representatives.

"During the whole of the 13th the people disregarded the proclamation of the state of siege, and continued to assemble in crowds wherever the military did not prevent them; but they dispersed when the latter marched among their masses. Toward night a proclamation appeared, directing the soldiers to forbear no longer, but 'at once fire' on all persons who persisted in assembling, or remaining together after a summons to withdraw.

"The ex-President of the National Assembly, M. Grabow, had an audience with the king; and the latter is said to have uttered the following words:—"I know that my crown is at stake; nevertheless, I am firmly resolved not to yield."

“Notwithstanding their two expulsions, the state of siege, and the proclamation of martial law, the members of the Assembly persevered in their attempts to meet. On the morning of the 15th they assembled in the hall of the Town Council, and were about to commence business, when a battalion of infantry drew up before the hall, and took possession of the doors. The officer in command entered, and politely, but peremptorily, requested the members to withdraw; at the same time he showed them General Wrangel’s written order to that effect. The members, after a brief consultation together, withdrew under protest, and the troops marched back to their barracks.

“In the evening, 226 members met at Mielentz’s, a coffee-house on the Linden, went through the formalities of opening a sitting, and proceeded at once to debate the question of refusing taxes. ‘Two propositions,’ says the report of the proceedings, ‘were submitted for consideration.’ The first, adopted by the committee, ran thus,—

“‘No minister is authorized to levy taxes until this resolution (for the non-payment of taxes submitted to the committee) be revoked.’

“The second motion, submitted by Shulz and others, was thus worded,—

“‘The National Assembly decrees, that the Brandenburg Ministry is not authorized to levy taxes, or disburse the public money, until the National Assembly can fulfil its duties in safety at Berlin. This resolution will take effect from the 17th November next ensuing.’

“The call of the house had scarcely terminated, however, ere a field officer entered the apartment, accompanied by half-a-dozen grenadiers, who were posted at the door, while a battalion of the same corps were drawn up at the entrance of the building on the Linden. The officer approached the president, and stated that he had received orders from General Wrangel to cause the chamber to be evacuated. This message having been communicated by M. Unruh to the house, it was responded to by a general shout of, ‘We will

not stir!' *President* (to the officer).—'Sir, I must beg you to exhibit your warrant.' *Officer*.—'I have no written order, but I trust you will believe my word.' *President*.—'I am far from questioning your word, but it is my duty to demand a written warrant.' *Officer*.—'That is not in my power: General Wrangel declined to give me written instructions.' (Exclamations of 'This is shameful!') *President*.—'Have you received orders to employ force?' 'I confidently trust,' replied the major, 'that you will not drive me to that alternative.' 'I must demand categorically,' exclaimed the president, 'whether you have, or have not, orders to employ force of arms?' 'I have,' rejoined the officer. *President*.—'And are you resolved to employ it?' 'I am,' replied the major. (General silence; during which the deputies looked at each other, whispered, but maintained perfect calmness.) *President*.—'Under these circumstances, I declare that force has been exercised toward the Assembly, and that I am compelled ——'

"The president was now interrupted by the whole Assembly rising, 'No, no! a thousand times no! We will not move from this room, although we were run through with bayonets!' Sixty or seventy deputies sprang toward the officer and his small escort, and by their excited gestures appeared disposed to drive them from the chamber; while the remainder, in a state of indescribable excitement, crowded round the president's table. During this state of confusion and uproar, which lasted some time, the officer and his escort stood perfectly calm, but not without the precaution of communicating with the detachment outside.

"At length, when silence was somewhat re-established, there was a general call from members, 'Continue the deliberations. We will hear of no more interruptions. Clear the chamber of strangers.' Upon this the major approached the chair, and, after conferring with the president, returned to his escort, and retired with them outside the door, while a messenger was despatched to headquarters for further instructions. The members now returned to their seats, and,

with infinitely more calmness and self-possession than could be expected, listened to the reading of M. Shulz's motion. This had scarcely terminated ere the whole body rose and agreed to it, with a general shout of 'Yes, yes!' This decision was no sooner known, than a triple hurrah was raised by the whole house, and was prolonged during several minutes amid indescribable enthusiasm. At length the president rose, and officially announced the passing of the decree prohibiting the levying of taxes: he then proposed that the house should adjourn; and announced that he would communicate to members individually the time, place, and hour for their next sitting. The members then dispersed. They dispersed, exulting in the cleverness with which they had outwitted the Brandenburg Ministry, and dealt it such a parting blow. After this exploit, the recusant section of the Assembly made no further attempt at meeting, although, to give full effect to the resolution against the payment of taxes, it ought to have been confirmed by a second vote. Victorious over the Constituent Assembly, the ministry proceeded with the utmost vigour in executing the still more daring measure of disarming the Burgher Guard. Resistance was impossible, and the disarming was fully effected without the slightest disturbance. The truth seems to be, that a vast number of the citizens were, in secret, not ill-pleased to be relieved of the task of keeping watch and ward, and of the toils of military duty added to all the difficulties of life and business during a most depressed period.

"An eye-witness of the struggle, writing from Berlin on the 19th, says:—"All expression of public opinion being prohibited, there is a perfect quiet and apathy on the surface of things; but beneath it there is, unquestionably, the most bitter and angry feeling against the government. The citizens do not grant, for a moment, that there was any real occasion for so extreme a measure as declaring the capital in a state of siege. They regard it as the completion of a long-contemplated plan, a fit opportunity for which was only waited for; and that this was furnished by the events at Vienna,

without reference to the state of Berlin at all. Besides the humiliation of the disarming, the declaration of the state of siege has inflicted a loss on the city and its trade which they are very ill able to bear. Strangers avoid a place, the condition of which they imagine to be so alarming. Families who had begun to return have again fled, and large mansions are standing empty. The dreary aspect of the city is indescribable. The respectable inhabitants appear to keep purposely within doors. The streets are nearly deserted, being left almost wholly to a few working people and the military patrols. The weather, the streets, trade, politics, tempers, and prospects, are all alike dark and discouraging.'

"On the other hand, we find the same writer describing, only ten days later, a striking demonstration of loyalty which occurred at the Berlin Opera, where the busts of the king and queen were crowned amid the enthusiastic plaudits of the audience.

"It is probable that the decision of the Frankfort Parliament contributed not a little toward fixing public opinion in Prussia in favour of the king's policy. Reversing a former resolution, in which it had mildly censured the royal proceedings, the Imperial Assembly affirmed, on the 20th of November, by a majority of 276 votes against 150, a resolution to the following effect:—That the King of Prussia is earnestly advised to appoint a ministry which enjoys the confidence of the country. 'The notoriously illegal and dangerous resolution of the residue of the Berlin Assembly' is declared to be null and void. The Imperial Assembly will protect the rights and liberties promised and guaranteed to the people of Prussia, against all attempts to violate them.

"On the appointed day, November 27, the Prussian Assembly met at Brandenburg; but the Left kept their word and abstained from attending, and the Right and Centre were unable to make more than three-fourths of a house. This state of things continued for some days. At last the members of the Left entered in a body, and completed a quorum; they then tried one vote, but finding themselves in a minority, they

immediately withdrew, and again reduced the Assembly to an incapacity to vote. The remaining members adjourned to the 7th of December, on which day it was expected that the Left would assemble in full strength, re-elect Unruh president, and affirm the resolutions prohibiting the levy of taxes. These manœuvres were anticipated by the king and his ministers. On the 5th, appeared an edict dissolving the Assembly, and accompanying that decree was a complete draft of a constitution, which was to have force provisionally, until it should be assented to or revised in the ordinary course of legislation.

"Thus ended the Prussian Revolution of 1848. The Assembly was beaten at all points, in right as well as in fact. Its neglected task had been taken out of its hands, and most satisfactorily performed by the executive. The new Prussian constitution closely resembles that of Belgium. It may be ranked among the most democratic in Europe, and acknowledged as fairly realizing for Prussia all the promises made by Frederick William in March."\*

A sudden enthusiasm in favor of Poland broke out in Germany in the first days of the revolutionary fervour. On the 20th of March, the doors of the state-prison at Berlin were thrown open, and the condemned Poles came forth. An immense crowd accompanied them. The carriage in which Mieroslawski and his companions were seated, was drawn by the people to the palace, and thence to the university. Mieroslawski stood up, holding in his hand the black, red, and golden banner, and acknowledged the enthusiastic applause of the people by waving the standard of independence. On the following day a Polish deputation from Posen arrived in Berlin, and all its demands were conceded. The duchy was to be divided into moieties, the one Polish, the other German, and each was to have its own local administration. The exiles from Austrian and Prussian Poland were invited to return.

But the Poles soon gave their enemies ground for asserting that they were not fitted to enjoy independence. Eight days after Mieroslawski's liberation, civil war broke out in Posen

\* "Revolutions of 1848," by W. S. Chase.



between the Polish and German races, and for six weeks the country was filled with scenes of horror and disgusting barbarity. Many prisoners were burnt, or disembowelled alive. Both parties acted like mad savages, fighting with guns, scythes, and every weapon that would kill or mutilate. At length, the terms of the partition were arranged. The line of demarcation was determined on the 26th of April, and on the 10th of the following month, the insurrection was terminated by the capture of Mieroslawski and the defeat of his band, the last outstanding remains of a Polish army of thirty thousand men.

On the 31st of March, five hundred deputies from all parts of Germany held their first sitting in Frankfort, as a preliminary assembly for the formation of a national parliament. Almost the first question they had to decide was, as to what territories should send representatives to the Central Assembly, and it was resolved unanimously, that Schleswig-Holstein should be invited to exercise that privilege, as forming part of the German Confederation. The same was declared with regard to the provinces of East and West Prussia. Some difference of opinion existed with regard to Posen, but at last it was agreed that since the retention of that province might impede the re-establishment of the independent kingdom of Poland, which all Germany wished most ardently to see liberated from the barbarous yoke of Russia, the Assembly would content itself with declaring that it would endeavour to find means for protecting the seven hundred thousand Germans living in that province. The preliminary assembly (*vorparlament*) further resolved, in concert with the Diet, that a national assembly should immediately be elected by universal suffrage, in the proportion of one member for every fifty thousand of the population, and that any German should be eligible thereto for any part of Germany.

Having made these arrangements, the preliminary assembly adjourned, but left behind it a permanent committee of fifty. This committee, with the seventeen "men of confidence," whose voices were paramount in the Diet, constituted, from



Attack of the Polish Scythemen.

the beginning of April to the middle of May, the supreme council that governed Germany. Besides drawing up a project of a constitution for the collective German states, another important part of its labours consisted in directing military operations against the armed republican party. The lake district of Baden was the only part of Germany where that party was not decidedly in the minority, and there only the republican flag was raised. It was hoisted in Constanx and Freiburg, under the protection of a free corps led by Hecker and Struve; but its defenders were met within a week, (April 20,) and totally routed by the forces of the Confederation. General Von Gagern, the commander of the latter, was treacherously murdered in a parley before the battle began. Hecker escaped; Struve was taken prisoner, but soon after rescued. Freiburg was stormed on the 24th; Constanx was occupied on the same day, and the republic was brought to an end in both places. Herwegh, the poet and communist, arrived with his free corps from France too late to prevent the catastrophe that had befallen his brethren. His own nine hundred men were totally routed on the 27th by a single company of Wurtemberg troops, with a loss of twenty-three killed, and two hundred taken prisoners. Herwegh, with his wife, who was armed and present in the fight, escaped to Switzerland.

The German Parliament held its first sitting in Frankfort on the 18th of May, and elected as its president Heinrich Von Gagern, an able and judicious man, and almost the only continental statesman who passed through the ordeal of the last eight months of '48 with a steadily rising reputation. On the 28th of June, the parliament enacted a law creating a provisional central power for the administration of all affairs, civil and military, foreign and domestic, which affect the whole of the German nation, that power to be confided to a Regent, (*reichsverweser*), elected by the National Assembly, and himself irresponsible, but acting through responsible ministers. On the following day the Archduke John of Austria was elected Regent, by a very large majority. He arrived soon after in Frankfort, where he was received with great demon-



Archduke John of Austria.

strations of joy, and was solemnly installed in office on the 12th of July; on which day also the High German Diet, born in 1815, held its seventy-first and last sitting, its power passing into the hands of the Provisional Central Government.

But the "German Empire" had more of form than substance. An act of insubordination committed by the monarch who had professed to take the lead in constructing an imperial authority, led to an exposure of the weakness of the Frankfort government, and gave occasion to an open assault upon it, accompanied by circumstances of hideous atrocity.

War between Prussia and Denmark had arisen concerning the possession of the Duchy of Schleswig-Holstein, and after many fluctuations of success, an armistice was concluded for seven months, the King of Prussia acting without consulting the central government. This excited a violent commotion in Frankfort. The Assembly, by a large majority, resolved to suspend the measures necessary for carrying into effect the armistice. Its sitting was attended with furious discussion.

“The resolution of the Assembly was immediately followed by the resignation of the imperial ministry. Professor Dahlgman, the leader of the majority, having failed to form a ministry, the Assembly was compelled to retrace its steps, which it did by resolving on the 16th, by a majority of 257 to 236, that the armistice should be allowed with the modifications which Denmark herself had declared to be admissible. The populace assembled around St. Paul’s and threatened an attack on the majority as they retired, but did not execute their threats.

“Next day large out-door meetings assembled, and were addressed by Blum, Simon, and other republican leaders. Resolutions were passed denouncing the majority who ratified the armistice as guilty of ‘high treason against the majesty, liberty, and honour of the German people.’ The Senate of Frankfort sent word to the Regent that they would no longer guarantee order. The Regent induced part of his late ministry to resume office provisionally: Schmerling took the combined Home, Foreign, and War Departments, and made prompt provisions against an outbreak; bringing Austrian, Prussian, and Bavarian troops into Frankfort.

“On Monday these measures were violently condemned in the Assembly by the left, but it was evident that the revolutionists were awed. Outside the populace began to pelt the soldiery with stones and to raise barricades. Schmerling declared the city in a state of siege. The defenders of the barricades were summoned to surrender, and on their refusing to comply they were attacked by the military. A sharp fight

ensued, but the rioters were soon overcome, being ill-armed and not having the burghers on their side. By midnight every point was in the hands of the troops.

“But before order was restored the horrible murder of Prince Lichnowski and Major Auerswald had branded the republican party with indelible disgrace. After leaving the Assembly, of which they were members, they rode out of the town, with the intention, it is supposed, of meeting the artillery, which was to arrive about five o'clock. Several shots being fired at them, they attempted to ride back to the town, but found that they were surrounded on all sides. They then endeavoured to escape across the fields, but Major Auerswald was quickly stopped and dragged from his horse. The assassins, having thrown him on the ground, coolly deliberated where wounds would cause the greatest pain, and then fired into different parts of his body. Observing that life was not quite extinct they left him, saying it was all the better, because he would have the more to suffer; but an old woman put an end to the unfortunate gentleman's agony by battering his brains out with a stone. Prince Lichnowski, after galloping about a field from which he could find no outlet, returned to the public promenade, where he was seized by a number of men, who, having literally slashed, slit, and scraped the flesh from his arms and part of his legs, left him with the remark that this was enough for the present, and that he might afford them more sport when he had recovered a little. The prince, with the utmost difficulty, crawled to a neighbouring cottage, where he was kindly received. He had scarcely been there an hour when the same men, with many others, armed with guns, made their appearance and demanded his immediate surrender, which the hospitable people of the cottage refused. The wretches then made preparations to set fire to the house, and on hearing this the prince boldly stepped out to meet his fate. He was received with shouts of derision, and one of the leaders, dressed as a common labourer, declared that as the prince had always been a kind of Don Quixote he ought to die so: accordingly, they

pulled off his clothes and decked him with some sort of grotesque drapery; then forming a circle around him and pricking him with their knives and bayonets, they compelled him to keep constantly in motion: at last, tired of this sport, they fastened him to a wall, and, at a distance of only ten yards, fired more than twenty balls, most of them intentionally avoiding the vital parts; but after he had received three mortal wounds they went away laughing, and left him to suffer a little longer. In this state he was found by a patrol of Hessian cavalry, and carried, by his own desire, to the hospital, where the rest of those wounded in the riot had been received. He expired about an hour past midnight, after dictating a minute relation of these horrid scenes.

“The outbreak in Frankfort was soon followed by a second republican invasion of Baden. A column of two thousand men, consisting of Italians, Poles, French, and Germans, and headed by Struve, crossed the frontier from Switzerland on the 23d of September, but were speedily defeated by troops sent against them by the central government. Some hundred prisoners were taken, including Struve himself. He and eighty of his immediate followers were forthwith tried by court-martial, condemned, and shot.

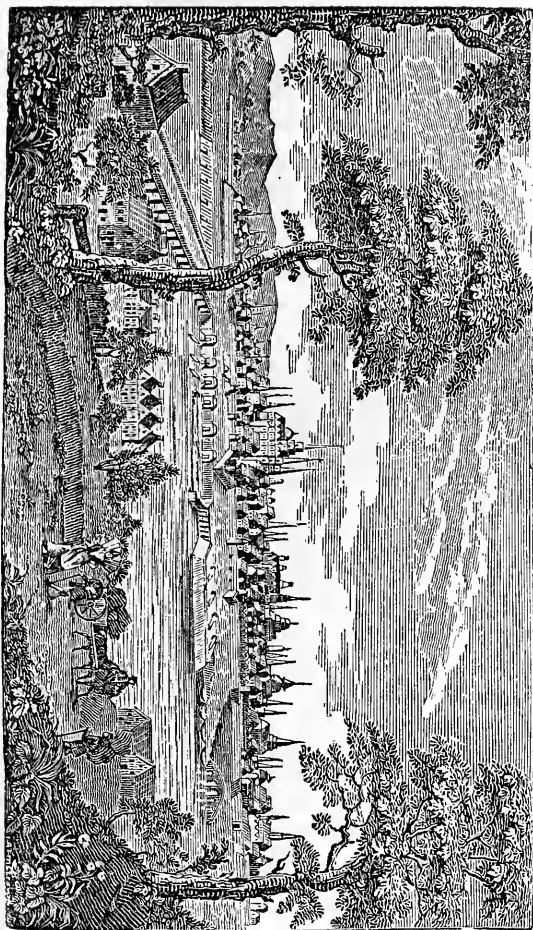
“The end of the year arrived before the new German constitution had come out of the makers’ hands. There seemed at that period, an increasing probability that, if the Frankfort proceedings did not end in utter failure, the King of Prussia, or his heir-presumptive, would be elected by the Assembly as Emperor of Germany; that is to say, of a German empire in which Austria is not to be included. The Regent’s prime minister, (Schmerling,) and Wuth, the under-Secretary of State, both of them Austrian deputies, resigned office on the 16th of December, and Baron Von Gagern, who was known to be strongly in favour of the claims of Prussia, became the head of the cabinet. His first care was to lay before the Assembly his views with regard to Austria, which were, in substance, that Austria, in conformity with her own declaration to that effect, should be considered as not forming

part of the new Federal State; but that as she was a member of the German Confederation, and therefore 'in indissoluble alliance with Germany as represented by the Provisional Central,' she should be treated with by way of diplomatic negotiation on all topics of common interest, save only the constitution of the Federal State, as to which she was not to be consulted."\*

\* "Revolutions of 1848," by W. S. Chase.







Vienna.



Metternich.

## CHAPTER V.

## POPULAR OUTBREAKS IN VIENNA AND BOHEMIA.

VIENNA felt the shock of the French Revolution. On the 13th of March, the people arose, and after a short struggle obtained their demands. The Metternich ministry was dismissed, and Ferdinand made several liberal grants, the chief of which, was the Assembly. For two months afterward, Vienna remained, as it were, "in a simmer." There was no violent commotion, but there was much dissatisfaction. The

constitution of the Assembly was too aristocratic to please the liberal party.

On the 13th of May, an order was issued for the dissolution of the central committee of the National Guard, consisting of about two hundred individuals, organized for political objects, and which, backed as it was, by such a large array of physical force, threatened to overawe the constituted authorities. The students of the University took the lead in resisting this unpopular measure of the government, and on the morning of the 15th they preferred the following demands to the ministry : 1st, That the military, who, during the preceding night, had bivouacked in large numbers on the glacis, should be withdrawn. 2d, That the central committee of the National Guard should not be dissolved. 3d, That the law for the elections should be declared null and void. The ministers withstood the demands for a whole day. But they had no force to back them. About midnight, Pillersdorff, Minister of the Interior, issued a proclamation, conceding all asked for. A new revolution was thus ratified, for the constitution of April 25 was superceded, and it was settled that the Diet should consist of but one chamber.

The next day the emperor and his family left the capital and fled to Innsprück in the Tyrol.

“The ministers and the whole population of Vienna were thrown into consternation, and messengers were despatched with the most pressing entreaties to recall the fugitives, who obstinately rejected all such overtures. Meanwhile the agents of the camarilla, and the aristocratic party who had counselled the emperor’s flight, were taking pains to make that event subservient to their reactionary projects. They caused reports to be spread in the provincial towns that the Viennese had stormed the imperial palace, dragging the monarch from his bed, and ill-treated his sacred person. Having produced a strong feeling of pious horror in the provinces by such stories as these, the reactionists prepared to make a *coup de main* in the capital.

“On the 25th of May it was reported in Vienna, that three

regiments were to enter the city at night, and the announcement spread universal alarm. On the following morning the Academical Legion received orders to disband within twenty-four hours. On their refusal to lay down their arms, the gates of the town were shut and guarded by soldiers; but the workmen from the suburbs stormed them, and one of the assailants, a workman, was killed in the conflict. This became the signal for a general insurrection, and once more barricades arose in every street. This state of things lasted until the night without further hostilities, and ended in the complete victory of the people, whose conditions were again, as on the 15th, accepted and ratified by the ministers. These conditions stipulated the continuance of the Academical Legion; the removal of the military to a distance of four leagues from Vienna; and the return of the emperor within eight days, or the appointment of one of the princes to represent him.

“Peace was now restored; the barricades were taken down, and business was resumed. The Viennese were still, indeed, deprived of the presence of their emperor, who remained ill at Innsprück; but he appointed his uncle, the Archduke John, to represent him in the capital, and open the Assembly in his name. This was accordingly done on the 22d of July, in a speech breathing amity and peace toward all the States of the Empire, and all foreign countries. Even of Italy the Archduke said,—“The war in Italy is not directed against the liberties of the people of that country: its real object is to maintain the honour of the Austrian arms in presence of the Italian powers, at the same time recognising their nationality, and to support the most important interests of the state. The emperor at last relented, and returned to his capital on the 12th of August; and thus ended the second phase of the Viennese Revolution.”

The Bohemians took up the general hymn to freedom, and bore their part in the swelling chorus. Two days before the first movement in Vienna, a meeting was held in Prague, to draw up an address to the government. The demands agreed

on were as follows:—Equality of the Tchech and German races; every public officer to be required to speak both languages; union of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, guaranteed by a common Diet, which should meet alternately at Prague and Brun; representative and municipal reform; publicity of judicial proceedings; absolute liberty of the press; a responsible chancery, sitting in Prague; the arming of the people; suppression of feudal rights and jurisdiction; military service obligatory on all; security for personal liberty; equality of all religious denominations. After much delay and evasion, the emperor granted the Bohemians all they desired, on the 8th of April. Bohemia was then restored to the condition of a substantive state, under the vice-royalty of the heir presumptive of the empire, the young Archduke, Francis Joseph.

The effect of the imperial rescript was to raise the Tchechs, who were in the majority, and who generally spoke both languages, from the condition of slaves to the possession of power. They filled all the offices. The old rancour broke out afresh between the races. The emperor encouraged the new order of things by appointing Count Leo Thun, a leader of the Tchechs, Burgrave, in the place of Count Stadion.

The next movement was toward a union of the Sclavic nation. A congress was summoned to meet at Prague. It opened on the 2d of June, and was abruptly closed on the 12th. But even in this short session, enough transpired to show the general nature of the revolution the Slaves sought to effect in central Europe. The congress issued a manifest to the nations of Christendom, declaring that they intended to form a central federation in Austria; that they utterly repudiated all thought of Russian panslavism; that being bent on obtaining full justice for all Slaves, they would insist on reparation from Russia for the partition of Poland, and from Prussia, Saxony, Hungary, Austria, and Turkey, for their many aggressions upon the nationality of their Slave subjects; and that they solicited a European congress for the equitable adjustment of these claims.



Count Leo Thun.

The cordial unanimity which prevailed in the Prague Congress was most remarkable. Each branch of the great family freely surrendered some of its predilections for the common good. Conscious of the fatal errors and omissions of former revolutions, the Polish nobles in the Prague congress resolved to abolish all remains of feudal servitude, and to recognize the independence and equality of the two races and tongues in Gallicia. This display of the democratic spirit alarmed the Innsprück camarilla.

“The Viennese ministry could not pardon the slight put upon it by the Provisional government of Bohemia, and it declared that body to be illegal and its acts null and void. This challenge was answered, as probably it was intended that it should be, by an insurrection which raged for five days, ending on the 17th of June; nor was it put down until Prince Windischgratz, the Austrian commander, had bombarded the town from the adjacent heights, and laid much of it in ruins. Prague relapsed into its former state of dependence on Vienna; the Slavonic Congress was dispersed, and even the Bohemian parliament, which was to open on the 18th of June, was indefinitely postponed; but the triumph of Teutonism over Slavism was far from having been consummated.

“The atrocious cruelties committed by the insurgent Tchechs bore a strong family likeness to the horrors of which the Taborites were guilty during the Hussite wars. They cut off the noses and ears of the soldiers whom they took alive, and murdered them after having thus tormented them. Twenty-six hussars were thrown into the Moldau on the 13th, and a National Guard, who had shot two Tchechs in the performance of his duty, was crucified on the door of his own house.

“Almost the first shot fired in the insurrection killed the Princess Windischgratz in her own apartment. The prince’s behaviour on this sad occasion stands in honourable contrast with his later deeds. Owing to the prince’s refusal to give cannon and ammunition to the students, a mob gathered round his house on the 12th, hooting, yelling, and threatening. The military on duty having in vain called on them to disperse, and the fatal shot having been fired that deprived the unfortunate princess of life, the bereaved husband came out, and with great dignity and calmness thus addressed the rioters:—

“Gentlemen—If it is your desire to insult me because I am of noble birth, go to my palace, and do there as you may think fit. I will even give you a guard that you may not be disturbed in your amusement. But if you act thus because I

am commander of Prague, and purpose making a demonstration in front of this building, I tell you candidly that I shall prevent such a step with every means at my command. My wife now lies a lifeless corpse above stairs, and yet I address you in words of kindness. Gentlemen, do not drive me to severe measures.'

"The reply of the mob to this magnanimous speech was to seize the prince and drag him to the next lamp-post, where a rope was promptly forthcoming; but the prince was rescued by his grenadiers, and in five minutes afterward the artillery swept the streets. The prince's son was mortally wounded in the affray."\*

The Hungarian troubles, of which we shall hereafter give an account, caused the final and the most formidable insurrection in Vienna. On the morning of the 6th of October, the German grenadiers, a regiment favourable to the popular cause, received orders to march and join the expedition against the Hungarians. Having been forewarned of those orders, the grenadiers had communicated with the National Guard of the suburb, in which their barracks were, and with the Academical Legion, both which corps promised that measures should be taken to prevent their departure.

At night, the confederates broke up the railway at some distance from the station, and erected a barricade on the Tabor bridge, which the battalion would have to cross before reaching the next station. The grenadiers were ordered to storm the barricade, but they joined the insurgents. Cavalry, infantry, and artillery, were brought against them; but the confederates routed their foes and marched into the town. The conflict became general, and the government troops were everywhere defeated. The war-office was taken by storm, and Count Latour, the minister of war, was murdered. The arsenal was defended until the morning of the 7th, when it fell into the hands of the people, who thus became possessed of 100,000 muskets. On the 8th, Vienna was comparatively

\* "Revolutions of 1848," by W. S. Chase.





Count Latour.

quiet, the government troops having wholly evacuated the town.

On the 6th, the Diet had assembled and elected Smolka president. The sitting was declared permanent. A committee of safety, whose decrees were to be signed by the minister Hornbostel, was chosen, and a deputation was sent to the emperor to demand the formation of a popular cabinet, measures favourable to the Hungarians, and an amnesty for those implicated in the Vienna riots. Ferdinand returned an evasive answer, and then left Vienna, with his family, leaving behind a proclamation, in which he declared his intention to maintain his authority by force of arms.

The Diet now assumed executive as well as legislative powers, and began, along with three ministers, to act as a provisional government. The forms of the constitution, however, were strictly observed. Deputations were sent to invite the emperor to return, under the implied peril of forfeit-



Count Windischgratz.

ing his throne. Count Amersberg and Jellachich, who were in command of strong forces, were summoned to the aid of the Viennese, but they declined to obey.

The emperor threw himself into the arms of the Slavonians, the enemies of the Germans and Magyars. He arrived at Olmutz, in Moravia, on the 14th. Here he found a minister, M. Wessenberg, to countersign his proclamations, and feeling strong in the support of the Slavonians, he threw off all disguise, declared open war against the rebels, appointed Prince Windischgratz commander-in-chief of all the forces, except those under Radetsky, in Italy, and gave the prince full power to do all things "according to his judgment, within the shortest time." On the 20th, he issued a proclamation, decreeing the removal of the Austrian Diet to the small town of Kremsier, in Moravia, and summoning all its members to meet there on the 15th of November, in order to proceed with the mighty work of perfecting the constitution.

“Windischgratz had now arrived before Vienna, and invested it with an army of some 100,000 men and one hundred and forty guns. Some days were spent in negotiation, both parties at the same time preparing for action. Messenhauser, the commander-in-chief of the National Guard, and General Bem, who acted under him, put the city in as good a position for defence as possible, and the population was perfectly ready for fighting.

“The attack began on the morning of the 28th, and by evening all the northern and eastern suburbs were occupied. Next morning the southern suburbs were attacked, and from the interior of the city a column of smoke issued, as a signal of distress, calling upon the Hungarians for help. But the Hungarians withdrew to Brück. The Viennese now sent a deputation to Windischgratz with proposals of surrender. The prince refused to abate his previous demand for disarming the working-men and the students, but agreed to suspend hostilities for twelve hours, while the besieged held a last deliberation.

“The deputation returned and summoned a meeting of the town council, which was attended by Messenhauser, the commander of the Academic Legion, and some members of the Diet. Messenhauser declared that he and the officers under him were ready to hold out if the council decided to do so; but the situation was nearly desperate. The troops were in possession of the suburbs to the foot of the glacis, and the walls were incapable of general defence against escalade. On the question being put to the vote, it was resolved by three-fourths of the town-councillors that the defence should cease. Messenhauser, and his National Guards, with the chiefs of the students, set about carrying this resolution into effect; and it was announced to Prince Windischgratz. A disarming had actually commenced on the 30th; but the sentinels on St. Stephen's then announced that the Hungarians were advancing in full march from Brück, and were driving in the outposts of the besiegers. General Bem, the commander of the workmen, who formed the largest body of the

defenders, had protested against the surrender agreed on the day before, and he and they seized on the announcement of the Hungarian advance to renew the conflict. This was done on all sides with greater activity than ever, and even with some partial successes; but after the first surprise the Imperial troops drove the workmen back, and resumed all their advantageous positions.

“On the 31st the Municipal Council endeavoured again to carry out the stipulations of the 29th. White flags of surrender were hung out on the bastions, and from the houses; the Imperial troops advanced, but a slaughtering fire was opened upon them. This so exasperated Prince Windischgratz, that he ordered a bombardment of the city and an attack by storm on three of the south and south-eastern gates. The library in the castle, several public buildings, and two churches were set on fire. The Burg Thor was carried by the troops, and a short but bloody fight began in the streets. The defenders being still, as on the 29th and 30th, divided among themselves—some only of them for fighting, more for yielding—the success of the besiegers was rapid; and before midnight of the 31st the greater portion of the capital was subdued. On the 1st instant, the contest was still continued at detached points by a body of workmen and students; and the most north-westerly parts of the city were not mastered till dawn of the 2d. These last frantic conflicts were waged between some students and Croats; some of the former were thrown alive from the tops of the loftiest houses, and hardly any received quarter. The fire in the palace was extinguished without much injury to the books or archives; but the church of the Augustines was destroyed. On the 2d, the submission of the whole city was complete. All the gates were closed; all communication with the suburbs was prevented. Prince Windischgratz proclaimed, that in consequence of the breach of capitulation, the conditions which he had at first agreed to were null and void; and the Academic Legion was for ever dissolved, and the National Guard disbanded for an unlimited time. All newspapers and political

associations were suspended; all assemblages of more than ten persons were forbidden; and a strict search was ordered for concealed arms.

“The number killed on both sides in the storming of the Austrian capital is estimated at about two thousand five hundred; the damage sustained by fire and pillage at about a million and a half sterling. The victory of the Imperialists, cruelly won, was infamously used. The horrors of the storming were greatly aggravated by letting loose those lawless savages, the Croat soldiers, to plunder, burn, murder, and ravish. In a letter, written at Vienna on the 1st of November, the writer says:—‘The victory of the troops has been abused in the most inhuman manner. Instead of making prisoners of all who were found in arms, but who offered no resistance, and delivering them over for trial by courts-martial or otherwise, they were butchered singly without mercy; and this not alone by the privates without orders, even officers boast of having given commands to that effect. An officer of the National Guard surprised by the military, and seeing his retreat cut off, called out “Quarter!” but was shot on the spot. Persons in the streets in the evening were called to by the patrols to stand; some in their terror endeavoured to get out of the way, and were immediately fired upon. I myself witnessed the death of two individuals who fell pierced with balls.’

“As military occupant of Vienna, Windischgratz exercised the powers of martial law with a vindictiveness no less impolitic than ruthless. Daily, for more than a week, the courts-martial and the imperial executioners were busy condemning, hanging, and shooting prisoners, with a secrecy more becoming conscious murderers than ministers of justice.\* It seemed as though Austria was resolved not to let those who used to tremble at the name of Spielberg, suppose that Austrian

\* It has been said that these alleged cruelties were greatly exaggerated, for that, in fact, only three executions took place *for high treason*. A most pitiful quibble!

domination had changed its nature in becoming nominally constitutional. The republican government of France showed mercy to the political prisoners in its hands, and spared from death even its unyielding antagonists in battle. The monarchical government of Austria no sooner regained for a time a little of its power, than it again resorted to the cruel conduct which had long made it not only feared but hated. Among the many executions ordered by Windischgratz, two especially excited universal disgust.

“Messenhauser, the brave commander of the National Guard, was shot,—an iniquitous act, which cannot be excused even on the poor plea of expediency. Imperial vengeance should have been restrained by the thought that the civil war had been solely provoked by gross Imperial treachery. A government that had such need of forgiveness would have acted wisely in forgiving. But Messenhauser was shot as a traitor; and a chief instrument in bringing him to that fate was Jellachich, a man who had been declared a traitor in May, and who very soon afterward, without any atonement or change of conduct on his part, had been named commander-in-chief and Governor of Hungary.

“Robert Blum of Leipsic, and Fröbel, his companion and colleague in the Frankfort Assembly, were both sentenced to death. Frobél survives, and his story strongly inculpates Windischgratz, who seems to have picked out the two senators from among the crowd that defended Vienna in order to treat them with especial severity. Frobél was pardoned on the score of ‘extenuating circumstances;’ a conflict of harshness and leniency which indicates vacillating councils, and imparts a still darker aspect to the bad deed of shooting Blum. He should have been kept in custody, and handed over to the proper tribunal at Frankfort. To inflict a military sentence on a German senator, a man not fairly within Viennese jurisdiction, was either a savage blunder or a wilful act of scorn and defiance cast upon the Imperial legislature at Frankfort. The latter supposition is probably the true one; for Austria has scarcely ever condescended to disguise her antipathy to



Robert Blum.

the phantom empire of Germany. If it was her intention to outrage that feeble apparition, she knew that she could do so with impunity. The Assembly at Frankfort did indeed evince its just indignation in very strong language; but it could do no more. The whole body rose and affirmed the following motion by unanimous acclamation, including the suffrages of the ministers Schmerling, an Austrian, Mohl, and Bekerath:—

“‘The National Assembly, solemnly protesting before all Germany against the arrest and execution of Robert Blum, which acts were consummated in total disregard of the Imperial law of 30th September ultimo, calls upon the Imperial ministry to adopt the most strenuous measures for calling those parties to account who, either directly or indirectly, bear the guilt of the offence, and for securing their punishment.’ Brave words, but nothing more! Commissioners were sent to Vienna, a show of inquiry was made, and the matter was hushed up.”\*

\* “Revolutions of 1848,” by W. S. Chase.



Prince Schwartzberg.

The cruelty of Windischgratz caused a revulsion of feeling in Bohemia, and strong protests against his executions were made. The czar signified his approval of the conduct of the Austrian marshal, by sending him the grand cross of St. Andrew. Jellachich was rewarded for his services by the present of the grand cross of St. V'ladimir.

As soon as Windischgratz had completed his terrible revenge for the murder of his wife and son, the Imperial government entered upon a conciliatory course. A new ministry was formed as follows: Prince Felix Schwartzberg, Premier and Foreign Minister; Count Francis Stadion, Interior; Baron Kraus, Finance; General Cordon, War; Dr. Bach, Justice; Rhinfeld, Worship; Bruck, Commerce and Public Works; Threnfeld, Agriculture. Count Stadion stipulated that certain state councillors and some other instruments of Metternich, should be dismissed.

The Diet assembled at Kremsier on the 22d of November.





Count Stadion.

Nearly all the members were present. On the 27th, the premier delivered a speech, declaring the principle on which he and his colleagues proposed to act in their government. The regeneration of Austria was said to be the object of the new administration. All reactionary projects were disclaimed.

The honour of the imperial name had been sullied past all cure in the person of Ferdinand. The weak monarch was despised by his subjects. A project, therefore, which had been openly discussed in May, after the flight to Innsprück, was now carried into effect, and on the 2d of December, the Emperor Ferdinand abdicated the Austrian throne; Francis Charles, his next brother and legal heir, renounced the succession; and Francis Joseph, a young man of nineteen, and son of the renouncing Archduke, was proclaimed Emperor of Austria, &c., by the title of Francis Joseph I. This succession was considered as the defeat of the Princess Sophia, the heart and soul of the Metternich party. The camarilla was broken up. The royal family separated.



Francis Joseph, Emperor of Austria.

The inaugural proclamation of the young emperor is a paper worthy of quotation:—

“We, Francis Joseph I., by the grace of God Emperor of Austria, &c.

“By the resignation of our beloved uncle, the Emperor and King Ferdinand the First, in Hungary and Bohemia of that name the Eighth, and by the resignation of our beloved father, the Lord Archduke Francis Charles, and summoned on the strength of the Pragmatic Sanction to assume the crown of this empire, proclaim hereby solemnly to our people the fact of our ascension to the throne, under the name of Francis Joseph the First.

"We are convinced of the necessity and the value of free institutions, and enter with confidence on the path of a prosperous reformation of the monarchy."

"On the basis of true liberty, on the basis of the equality of rights of all our people, and the equality of all citizens before the law, and on the basis of their equally partaking in the representation and legislation, the country will rise to its ancient grandeur; it will acquire new strength to resist the storms of the time; it will be a hall to shelter the tribes of many tongues united under the sceptre of our fathers."

"Jealous of the glory of the crown, and resolved to preserve the monarchy uncurtailed, but ready to share our privilege with the representatives of our people, we hope, by the assistance of God and the co-operation of our people, to succeed in uniting all the countries and tribes of the monarchy into one integral state. We have had severe trials; tranquillity and order have been disturbed in many parts of the empire. A civil war is even now raging in one part of the monarchy. Preparations have been made to restore legal order everywhere. The conquest over rebellion and the return of domestic peace are the first conditions to the great work which we now take in hand."

"In this we rely confidently on the sensible and candid co-operation of the nation by its representatives."

"We rely on the sound sense of the loyal inhabitants of the country, whom the new laws on the abolition of servitude and imposts have admitted to a full enjoyment of civil rights."

"We rely on the loyal servants of the state."

"We expect our glorious army will persevere in their ancient fidelity and bravery. They will continue to be a pillar of the throne, and a bulwark to the country and its free institutions."

"We shall be happy to reward merit, without any distinction of birth or station."

"People of Austria! it is an awful time in which we mount the throne of our fathers. Great are the duties of our office, great is its responsibility. May God protect us."

The good people of Vienna fondly expected, for their own share in the graces and bounties of the new reign, the immediate removal of the state of siege, and the arrival of their young emperor in the ancient capital of his dynasty. But they were doomed to disappointment in both respects. The emperor continued to reside at Olmütz; and as for the state of siege, it could only cease to exist with the rebellion in Hungary. The Imperial army could not afford to leave unrestrained in its rear a city of doubtful and even hostile sentiments, while about to engage in a war which was likely to be both protracted and bloody.





Kossuth.

## CHAPTER VI.

## THE REVOLUTION IN HUNGARY.

THE struggle of the Hungarians for independence was the most brilliant of the events of the revolutionary period; and its mournful close excited much sympathy throughout the civilized world. Of this great rising of the people, it is difficult to give a clear and accurate account at the present time. Those who have written histories of the war are generally partisans, and the truth of their statements is therefore questionable. But by comparing records and taking those acts upon which the writers agree, we may possibly be able to convey some idea of the war, its warriors, its causes, and its results.

Hungary was a powerful and prosperous kingdom when Austria and Russia were without recognition and influence abroad. In the tenth century, her king, known as St. Ste-



Rodolph of Hapsburgh.

phen, gave her a wise and liberal constitution, which, with modifications rendered necessary by the progress of civilization, existed until a late day. By that constitution, the powers of the sovereign were limited, and the just privileges of the people secured. The objectionable feature arose from the state of things in the Middle Ages; the Diet was swayed by the feudal aristocracy. When the Emperor of Austria succeeded to the crown of Hungary, the nationality of the people was required to be recognised; he could not attain authority until elected by the Diet; and he was always known to that body not as emperor, but as King of Hungary. The sovereigns of the House of Hapsburgh-Lorraine, from the time of its founder Rodolph of Hapsburgh, have ever striven to overthrow their nationality, and to nullify the provisions of the Hungarian constitution; and to effect these ends they have employed that fatal net—setting race against race. Hungary gave the Hapsburgs a fair field for such operations, being inhabited by people of several races—the Magyars, who have long been dominant, the Slaves, the Russians or Servians, the Wallachians, and the Germans. The population of the

country numbers ten million five hundred thousand. The Magyars number about four million two hundred thousand, and are therefore in a minority. This race has ever been foremost in maintaining the nationality of Hungary, and Austria has sought to depress its power by exciting the others to insurrection.

About 1832, a powerful liberal party was formed in the Diet, at the head of which was Wesselenyi. Among the most active of its advocates was the young Louis Kossuth, the since renowned orator, statesman, and patriot. This party not only opposed all attempts to violate the nationality of Hungary, but sought to elevate and improve the condition of the peasantry. In spite of threats, of persecution, and of dreadful imprisonment, Wesselenyi and his friends continued the struggle, and every day added to their strength and zeal.

In 1847, the opposition was headed, in the Magnates, by Count Louis Batthyanyi, and in the lower house, by Louis Kossuth. These men were able, eloquent, and determined; the latter was omnipotent in his sphere, and idolized by the people. A general reform of the Hungarian Constitution was in progress. The immunity from taxation enjoyed by the nobles was abolished, and the municipal institutions and representation of the towns were in course of revision, when the news arrived that the French revolution had broken out and France had become a republic.

A sympathetic movement was anticipated among the Hungarians. Kossuth seized the occasion to make a powerful speech in the Diet, asserting in a daring yet dignified manner, the rights of the nation. An address to the sovereign was unanimously voted.

“The day after the Emperor of Austria had become a constitutional monarch, he received a deputation of a thousand Hungarian gentlemen, headed by the Palatine, Archduke Stephen, and bearing the address, voted by the Diet. The demands preferred in that document were,—the nomination of a separate ministry for the kingdom, consisting solely of Hungarians, and responsible for all its acts to the Diet; a

new representation of the whole population, without distinction of rank or birth; the organization of a national guard; the transference of the Diet from Presburg to Pesth; and a liberal constitution for all the other states of the empire. Furthermore, the address declared it to be the firm intention of Hungary, as well as an essential condition of its welfare, to remain indissolubly united to the empire.

“A part of these demands was hardly consistent with the pledge of union that accompanied them. For instance, not content with a distinct administration for the internal affairs of the kingdom, the Hungarians insisted on having their own ministry of foreign affairs, a thing clearly incompatible with any kind of state federation. How is it possible to reconcile with the idea of an imperial unity the existence of separate and perhaps contrary relations with foreign countries? Nations so situated with respect to each other may severally obey the same sovereign, like Great Britain and Hanover under the Georges, but they cannot form parts of one empire.

“But the court of Vienna was just then in no condition to be critical. The demands of the Hungarians were granted in their fullest extent, and a new administration was formed under the presidency of Count Batthyanyi; the leader of the opposition in the Chamber of Magnates. The department of finance was occupied by Kossuth. Under his influence the Diet forthwith consummated all those important internal reforms which had been begun by the spontaneous movement of the generous Hungarian nobles, and which had been steadily prosecuted up to the moment when the European revolution broke out. The last remains of the oppressive feudal system were swept away. The peasants were declared free from all seignorial claims; in other words, the tenants of one-half the lands in Hungary were declared the possessors of that land, rent free, the landlords to be indemnified by the country at large. The peasant and the burgher were at once admitted to all the rights of nobles; and a new electoral law was passed, conferring the suffrage on all who possessed



property to the amount of three hundred florins, or thirty pounds sterling. After decreeing these important measures, the Diet was dissolved, and a new Diet was summoned for the second of July. During the recess the Diet of Transylvania met, and voted the union of that country to Hungary, from which it had been separated for more than two hundred years."\*

The cabinet of Vienna now had recourse to the policy which had so often proved successful. The Croats were stimulated to revolt, and to demand the same concessions which had been made to the Magyars. The able Jellachich, Ban of Croatia, was the agent in this scheme. Although the emperor declared him a traitor, his appearance at court and the favour shown him, soon taught the leaders of the Hungarian Diet the source of his movements. At his instigation, the Servians committed terrible outrages upon the frontier.

At length, on the 9th of September, 1848, Jellachich, at the head of an army of Croats, Servians, and Wallachians, numbering about thirty thousand, crossed the Drave, and entered upon Hungarian soil. He said he came as an Imperial Lieutenant Field Marshal to put down the revolution. What revolution? Vienna had sanctioned the measures of the Magyars. Jellachich met with but a trifling resistance. Moga, the commander of the Hungarians, would not meet him, and no struggle of importance had occurred, when intelligence reached Pesth that the Ban was within a day's march of the capital.

Meanwhile the landsturm, or general levy, had collected in the counties of Sumeg and Szlad, and swarmed around the Croats on all sides: for the Hungarian peasants were not, like their officers, perplexed by a divided allegiance, and they simply sought to strike the Croats dead. Similar risings were preparing in the counties of Wessprim, Weissenburg, and Pesth. The enemy was harassed incessantly day and

\* "Revolutions of 1848," by W. S. Chase.

night, and obliged to fight for every wagon-load of provisions. A considerable force was concentrated under Moga between Pesth and Stuhlweissenburg; thousands of volunteers came flocking in from all sides; and as the enemy advanced toward the metropolis, the eagerness for battle increased in the Magyar ranks.

Between Stuhlweissenburg and Buda, about half a mile distant from the former town, is situated the village of Velentze, on the northern point of the lake of the same name. The Hungarians had taken up their positions between Velentze, Sukoro, Pakozd, as far as Martonvasar, Sept. 29; and here, amid vineyards which had scarcely put forth their earliest shoots, the first battle was fought, and Jellachich was defeated.

Had the Hungarians at that time possessed resolute leaders, the career of Jellachich would have terminated at Velentze. The hussars besought their officers for permission to annihilate the treacherous enemy; the enthusiasm of the volunteers, after this first success, rose to the highest pitch; the landsturm were ready to cut off the enemy in their flight man by man. Jellachich begged for a truce of three days, which was generously granted him.

He now meditated an escape at any cost; for even without encountering the risk of a battle, he saw before him the destruction of his army. The Croats were beginning to suffer from want of provisions, the landsturm stopped all supplies from the south, and single bands of marauders were captured in the villages and destroyed. To escape from unconditional surrender, Jellachich *broke* the truce, and under shelter of night stole away with his army from the territory on which he had originally planned his operations, to gain the Upper Danube and the Austrian frontier, from whence he intended to slink back home along Styria. He abandoned to their fate his army of reserve, nine thousand men strong, who were taken prisoners by Perczel, together with their commanding generals, Roth and Philippovich.

The pursuit of Jellachich was followed up tardily and more

in show that reality. The fugitive Croats reached Pressburg in the most miserable plight, and pillaging as they fled, in spite of the thousand bastinadoes which, according to his own statement, the ban distributed day after day. Here Jellachich received the first precise information of the Vienna October revolution, of Latour's murder, and the flight of the emperor.

Couriers from Count Auersperg, then commandant of Vienna, and from the court, who on their flight to Olmutz had received news of the retreat of the ban to Pressburg, brought Jellachich the invitation or command to join Auersperg's troops, in order to crush the revolution in the metropolis. This invitation could not have arrived at a better time; the ban's resolution was at once taken. He crossed the frontier of the archduchy, and encamped before the gates of Vienna; for, as imperial general, he followed the thunder of the cannon, and felt called upon to put down the anarchy in Vienna.

For twenty successive days, the Viennese had repulsed every assault of the imperial troops. Along the whole extent of the lines of fortification, the heavy artillery played, with brief intermissions, throughout the day; and when it grew dark, the ill-fated city was encompassed by a sea of fire, to which the surrounding timber-yards, barns, and villages fell a prey. The Hungarian army, encamped around Pressburg, up to the river Leytha, remained all this time inactive, in spite of repeated orders from the committee of defence to cross the frontier and advance to the relief of the metropolis. Moga contrived to excuse his dilatory tactics until, at last, Kossuth himself was despatched to inspect the position of the army and take some decisive step.

Kossuth had not been at Pressburg for seven months. In this city and its immediate environs were assembled all the the forces that represented the main Hungarian army, that inspired the Viennese in their straitened position with so much hope, that embarrassed the Austrian diet, and cost the court at Olmutz many a sleepless night.

Two regiments of hussars, fourteen to fifteen thousand regular troops of the line, together with a body of twenty thousand untrained soldiers of the national guard and militia, about constituted the forces which had to try the fortune of war against the Austrians under Windischgratz and Jel-lachich.

All in the camp pressed eagerly forward to see the favourite of the nation, who was greeted with the loudest acclamations by the troops. The Hungarian regiments especially rejoiced at the thought of being led against the enemy; but their officers were more than ever doubtful and dissatisfied when they saw that Kossuth was resolved on their marching to Vienna.

Kossuth's reasoning prevailed in the council of war,—“it is not yet too late.” If he was deceived, the fault partly rested with the deputies from the Viennese guards, legions, and clubs, who at the risk of their lives and in various disguises, appeared singly in the Hungarian camp, and represented the means of defence in Vienna in a greatly exaggerated light.

Had Moga followed in the track of the ban, and not have allowed him time to unite with Auersperg, and take up a position before the walls of Vienna, the result would have been placed beyond a doubt. The Hungarians would have marched to Vienna without encountering any material resistance, the diet and the people would have gained a better knowledge of their position and their power, the revolution would have assumed a new and imposing aspect, embracing the whole archduchy, Moravia, Galicia, and very probably Bohemia likewise; the struggle would have certainly commenced under different auspices, even if the result had been eventually the same, which is not probable.

But the important opportunity was allowed to slip. A battle was fought at Schwechat, and the Hungarians were worsted. The fault of that unfortunate event is laid to the charge of the Viennese, for having neglected to make a sally; but such reasons can only be used as a consolatory argument



Gorgey.

to the common soldier, to keep up his courage and confidence; in any other light the excuse is inadmissible. Windischgratz had forces enough assembled to have repelled any sally of a few thousand students and Mobile guards, which could only have been attended with a still greater sacrifice of human

life, and no prospect of success. The battle of Schwechat, regarded from any point of view, was a forlorn enterprise, which might have terminated fatally, had Jellachich possessed the skill to take advantage of his advantageous position. But he was too little of a general for this, and moreover under the orders of a Windischgratz, whom no one will any longer call a genius.

Moga exposed his troops in this engagement in an unpardonable manner; and the main body of the Magyar army would have been lost, had not the retreat been ordered in time. On this occasion the great talent of Kossuth displayed itself: with a keen penetration and discernment, possessed only by men of highly gifted natures, he detected among thousands the man worthy to take the future command of the army. It was Arthur Gorgey who first directed Kossuth's attention to the faulty tactics of Moga.\*

With the exception of the storming of the village of Mannswerth, on which occasion the excellent Guyon won his first laurels, no military achievement of any importance occurred at the battle of Schwechat. The retreat of the national guards and militia was a shameful flight; the whole road to Pressburg was covered with shoes, which the fugitives had flung away; behind them marched the regular troops, in the best order, cursing the cowardice of their countrymen, "who were unworthy," said they, "for the Hungarian soil to bear them."

Moga was removed from the chief command by Kossuth, who acted in the name of the committee of national defence, and Gorgey was invested with the rank of general. "The nation," wrote Kossuth to the House of Representatives, "has conferred on me the honour of its confidence in the direction of public affairs. May the nation likewise place confidence in a man whom I trust from the bottom of my heart, and whom I have found worthy to take the command of our army."

After the battle of Schwechat, Gorgey held the chief com-

\* Kossuth raised Gorgey to the rank of general upon the field of battle, and invested him with the command the following day.

mand. The aged Moga presented himself voluntarily before the Austrian court-martial, and, after an arrest of several months, during the continuance of the examination, he was sentenced to be deprived of his rank of an Austrian general, to lose his orders and titles, and to be imprisoned in a fortress for five years. On the morning of the 31st of October, Gorgey was a colonel in the army,—on the 1st of November, he was general-in-chief of the Hungarian army of the Danube. Kossuth quitted the camp to return to Pesth.

Gorgey allowed the inhabitants of the county of Komorn, who wished it, to return home; but those who preferred to remain with the army were enlisted and armed. On the so-called Sauhaide, behind Pressburg, Slovacks were seen exercising in their koppeniks, (woollen cloaks,) Magyars in their bunda, (furred cloaks,) Jurats in their handsome attila, (laced coat,) students in their blouse, and burghers in very respectable-looking dress coats,—in mingled, parti-coloured array. Meanwhile the main body of the regular troops kept watch along the Austrian frontier, to prevent any interruption of the practice of these recruits by the imperialists; and seldom a day passed without some skirmish or engagement taking place at the outposts. At the same time, throughout the entire district, in front and at the back of Pressburg, earth-walls were thrown up, bridges pulled down and new ones erected, footpaths stopped up, and ditches dug, as if the army intended to hold this position for the winter.

Affairs went on thus through the month of November. At length winter began to set in, snow fell, and Windischgratz set in motion his land armada. Early in November he broke up his quarters, and marched from Vienna toward the Hungarian frontier. The divisions of his army crossed it at different points, and the Hungarians everywhere retired. At Pressburg they carried off with them the bridge of boats, and doubtless the inhabitants were glad to get rid of them at such a price; they had always dreaded lest their city should become the theatre of murderous scenes, and they should be forced to act the part of heroes against their will. The Aus-

trian white-jackets were therefore received with tears of dastardly emotion.

The Hungarian army marched past Pressburg. The snow fell in large flakes, the wind blew icy cold, and the feet of the cavalry froze in their stirrups. For both parties, the campaign opened in no very agreeable manner. The soldiers could hardly see a hundred steps before them, so densely was the plain enveloped in a veil of snow and clouds. Encountering a few unimportant skirmishes on their route, the Hungarians came to Wieselburg, and marched thence to Raab. The fortifications were abandoned without a blow.

One division of the army passed the Danube at Komorn, and advanced to Waitzen; the other half continued its march along the right bank. Other divisions had retired previously by Eidenbun and Tyrnau. At Babolna and Moor the superior forces of the Austrians were victorious; in the latter place, especially, a battle was fought, in which the Hungarians suffered a heavy loss, notwithstanding the courage and resolution displayed by Perczel and his troops. This praise is due to Perczel on all occasions. He was not particular in the choice of his positions, and attacked the enemy or waited to be attacked as it might happen—a want of discretion for which he had to pay dearly in the Bacska; but he has on all occasions shown himself a brave soldier, and would have engaged an enemy in the middle of a morass.

It required all the weight of Kossuth's personal authority to quiet the left side of the chamber, who considered the abandonment of the metropolis as a disgrace to the Hungarian nation, and overwhelmed the minister of war with reproaches. Kossuth succeeded, and the removal of the Diet to Debreczin, together with the plan of the winter campaign, were almost unanimously adopted. Szegedin and Grosswardein were also mentioned as places of retreat for the government, but the proposition was overruled.

It was further resolved to placard the result of this debate, but it is uncertain whether this was done: indeed, it was afterward asserted by merchants at Pesth, that the people



had not the slightest anticipation of the near approach of the Austrians, until their first columns were actually descried on the march to Buda. Ludicrously enough, these merchants had gone at noon into the café of the Casino, close to the chain-bridge, and were engaged in reading a placard just put out by Csanyi, entreating the citizens not to be anxious, as there was nothing to fear for the metropolis, when the advanced columns of the Austrian cavalry appeared on the other side of the bridge.

At the same time, the last column of the Hungarians marched off on the opposite side. Csanyi, it was asserted, had not left the city the next day, when Windischgratz and Jellachich made their solemn entrance. Kossuth was said to have laboured for three days and nights uninterruptedly, directing and superintending the removal of all the stores; and so little was he prepared for this retreat, that the devoted heroism of Perczel at Moor alone enabled him to carry off the banknote press from Pesth in perfect order.

To Debreczin all these effects were safely transported, and in that town there was a general reassembling of friends. Some, however, remained behind, and among the rest Count Louis Batthyanyi, who attempted to conciliate Prince Windischgratz, but was imprisoned.

Prince Windischgratz was now in possession of the metropolis of Hungary and the cradle of the revolution. Pesth presented a peaceful aspect. No trace of rebellion was to be seen. The prince and his officers must themselves have been surprised at having traversed such an extent of country, from Vienna to Pesth, with scarcely any opposition. Wherever he had hitherto appeared, his adversaries had retreated before him. Prague was prostrate at his feet, as soon as he announced his will and pleasure to the venerable royal city by his iron messengers: Vienna had been compelled to submit, notwithstanding the heroic bravery of her youths: and now the dreaded Magyars, avoiding any encounter with him, had quitted both their old and new metropolis, had abandoned to him without a blow the fair western portion of their country.

It was quite as little anticipated at Vienna as at Pesth that the war would still be protracted, that the rejoicings over the successful termination of the campaign were premature, or that the great and sanguinary drama was in preparation beyond the Theiss, the last act of which was supposed to be already concluded. The very fact that such ignorance could possibly exist is not the least proof of the universal rising throughout the country, of the general enthusiasm, the greatness of the nation, the devoted patriotism of every man and—the want of skill in the Austrian general.

It seems almost incredible, that in Debreczin an army could be assembled by beat of drum, equipped, armed, accoutred, organized, provided with ammunition, artillery, and every requisite, without the Austrians gaining any certain information of what was in preparation beyond the Theiss.

Everywhere the utmost zeal and diligence were manifested by the workmen, while Kossuth was the life and soul of the general activity, of which indistinct rumours only reached the enemy's camp. Every day saw a new battalion ready for the field, which relieved another on the line of the Theiss, and was trained by service on the outposts for the approaching struggle. And yet the Austrian generals perceived nothing of these preparations!

For some time, not only the metropolis, but Kossuth and the government were in entire ignorance of the route which Gorgey had taken, although his army was the main support of the country threatened with such imminent peril. About four days after the entrance of the imperialists into Pesth, it was rumoured that Gorgey had defeated the Austrians near Waitzen. The truth was as follows: On the night of the 4th of January, the last corps of Gorgey's army, which had occupied the right bank of the Danube, abandoned its position around Promontor and the defiles of the Buda Mountains, and crossed the frozen Danube below Old Buda, at Margaret Island, with a view to gain the road to Waitzen. The rear guard had not yet come up, when the Austrian columns appeared before Buda. From Waitzen, Gorgey marched to

Ipoly-Sag, and there allowed his wearied troops some rest. The Austrian generalissimo rested at Buda, at the same time sending in advance strong cavalry detachments in all directions, to reconnoitre the enemy and secure Buda from a surprise. One of these detachments followed unawares in the very footsteps of the main Hungarian army, and came to Ipoly-Sag.

Near this place is a wooded height, on the summit of which are situated a chapel and a convent. At its foot extends a narrow ravine, separating the fenced convent-garden from the hill on which the chapel stands; and in this garden Gorgey had posted a strong division of Honveds with some cannon. He ordered loopholes to be pierced in this boarded fence for his fusileers and artillerymen, and then had these holes pasted over so as to act as a blind screen.

The ravine was to serve as a trap for the imperialists, and the stratagem succeeded. Their pioneers passed the ravine, and not a sound betrayed the vicinity of the enemy; but no sooner had the chief detachment reached the middle of the defile, than the guns opened a fire upon them from the whole line of fence, and several hundred imperialists fell. Their vanguard was destroyed, and Gorgey's rearguard under Benyicky, with their trophies of victory—a cannon and several hundred prisoners—followed the main body of the army, which was advancing by forced marches in the direction of Kremnitz and Schemnitz. At this last town a bulletin issued by Prince Windischgratz announced the defeat of Gorgey, with the loss of five hundred men and eight cannon. Gorgey's intention was now to spread his army, and by a combined mountain warfare to keep the whole force of the Austrians engaged; which would allow the other corps on the Theiss to gain time, and consolidate and organize their forces.

At this point commence the remarkable manœuvres of this young general, which deserve to rank beside the boldest and most splendid achievements of any period in history. In the depth of a severe winter he led his troops and artillery over

the Carpathians, one while appearing on the frontiers of Galicia, at another in the mountain towns and villages,—escaping, pursuing, or pursued. All this, moreover, without incurring any loss; nay, when in the following month he joined the other Hungarian corps on the Theiss, his army was more numerous and better equipped than when he started from the mountains of Old Buda; his officers and troops were better schooled and disciplined than any other in the army, and they followed their youthful leader, whom they idolized, with implicit confidence and devotion. No fewer than three divisions had followed in his track to annihilate him, and a forth was ready to close the road into Galicia to his advance.

Nearly at the same time that Windischgratz despatched from Buda the main body of his army toward Szolnok, he sent about eight thousand men in the direction of the mountain towns, to pursue Gorgey and at the same time to support Schlik. This corps pressed on the rear of the Hungarian army from the south, but without coming up with it. The second Austrian corps, sent in pursuit, nearly sixteen thousand men strong, advanced from Tyrnau under Simunich and Gotz, driving before it the brave Guyon, who with three thousand men halted at the latter town, gave battle to the Austrians, and came off with the loss of half his men. This corps was consequently advancing from the west.

At the same time that Windischgratz started from Vienna, Count Schlik set out from Galicia, intending to enter Hungary from the north. He had the command of from eight to ten thousand able troops, and is unquestionably the bravest and most skilful of the imperialist generals: his march across the Carpathians is no less remarkable than that of Gorgey. These two generals were opponents worthy of one another, and their manœuvres form the most interesting military feature of the whole campaign.

As long as Schlik had to act against the excellent but unskilful Meszaros, he had an easy game to play; he defeated him at Barcza, deceived him by the simplest manœuvres, and advanced up to the right bank of the Theiss at Tokaj. Here,

however, he found from experience, and at the cost of a battle, (at Talja,) that the command had been transferred from Meszaros to more skilful hands. It was Klapka who won the first real battle against Schlik, and against the Austrians generally—the same Klapka who fired the last shot against Austria, the most fortunate of the Hungarian generals.

Schlik now experienced one defeat after another; he was obliged to retreat to Kaschau, and halted at Eperies; while Gorgey, pressed as he was on two sides, was effecting his winter marches and countermarches over fields and mountains of ice and snow. He turned northward to Zips, his native country,\* shut in on three sides; while Hammerstein in Galicia ordered all the disposable troops to the frontier to oppose his fourth and last exit.

Gorgey was well aware of the desperate nature of his position; but only the more merriment prevailed in his camp; wherever he halted, he gave splendid balls to his officers, and treated them sumptuously. This was his invariable practice at critical periods: thus at Schemitz he commanded a ball, at the very moment when thousands were busy loading the coined and uncoined money upon wagons, while the miners were filling up the shafts, in order to deprive the enemy of any advantage from those rich mines, and while he was enlisting the miners themselves, nearly fifteen hundred men, as pioneers in his corps, which they entered joyfully. In like manner his officers were dancing at Iglo, and on the 5th of February, (the birthday of their young general,) at Leutschau, while Schlik at the head of seven thousand men was occupying the Pass of Branisko, with a view to obstruct the enemy's escape eastward.

\* Szemere, in his capacity of Hungarian government commissioner, rendered great services at this time. Unaided, he organized five thousand guerilla troops, and contributed much to the success of Klapka's campaign against Schlik, by his indefatigable efforts and his influence with the population of the country; he had been at an earlier period Vice-gespann of the Borschod county.

The only road from Leutschau to Kaschau and Eperies leads through this defile, which winds among the mountains in a steep ascent of four leagues. The Austrians had barricaded the entrance of this defile in the ablest manner, and formed a position which four thousand men could defend for several days against a hundred thousand.

Gorgey reached Iglo too late to take possession of this pass. His vanguard had been surprised two nights before, through the negligence of the outposts, and a great portion of his artillery was only saved by the most heroic valour of his troops. The train of guns was halting in the street of a village, when the Austrians unexpectedly attacked them: the rockets flew into the place, and would have destroyed the whole store of ammunition, together with the dwellings of the peasants and Honveds, had not the people run out at the risk of their lives, in a cold winter's night, some in their shirts, and covering the wagons with wet mats, dragged them to and fro, so as to protect the ammunition from the rockets, whose direction could be distinctly traced in the air. The enemy was repulsed, and Gorgey's loss was trifling: his outposts were taught caution by experience, and the Austrians cannot boast of having surprised an Hungarian camp a second time.

We left Gorgey in the midst of the ball. While the regimental bands were playing Hungarian airs and German waltzes, Guyon, at the command of the general-in-chief, was advancing at the head of eight thousand Honveds toward the Pass of Branisko. The country people around,—Germans, like most of the inhabitants of the Zips, but everywhere with Magyar sympathies—conducted him by secret paths to the foot of the mountains which enclose the proper defile. Here Guyon ordered four of his battalions to lay down their arms; and for five whole hours they climbed up steep footpaths, known only to the natives of the country, carrying the dismantled cannon piecemeal on their shoulders, or dragging them together with the necessary ammunition after them by ropes. From eight o'clock in the evening till one o'clock in

the morning, this heroic band were winding up the steep mountain paths, making their way over rocks and snow-drifts, beset with incredible difficulties and hardships, in a cold winter's night; while the rest of the troops at the entrance of the pass were continually making feigned attacks, to divert the attention of the Austrians, and prevent the silence of the night betraying the movements of the troops engaged in the ascent.

It was past midnight when the first cannon-shot came thundering from the heights down into the dark valley. This was the signal for a general attack. Ten successive times did the troops stationed below advance to the assault, braving death, while from above the shot thundered into the depths of the ravine. The Austrians witnessed with terror and dismay the destruction in their ranks: they abandoned one intrenchment after another, fighting as they retreated, and in the utmost confusion attempted to gain the opposite outlet of the pass. A great portion of their artillery and a third part of the troops were lost in this retreat; the slaughter was unprecedented; and the next morning Gorgey's vanguard passed through the defile, which Guyon and his brave troops had unclosed to them.

Schlik, who had considered Gorgey as buried alive, drew his sabre in a fury, when a major brought him the news to Eperies of the defeat at Branisko. "Dogs that ye are—all of you dogs!" he exclaimed: "that pass I would have held against a hundred thousand men!" He instantly decamped from Eperies, to escape Gorgey's superior forces, and took the route to Kaschau. There he heard that Klapka was advancing, who since the battle of Talja had lost sight of him; and he was now fixed in the same position as Gorgey had been in the very evening before. But Schlik was acquainted with the northern counties of Hungary, as well as his enemy, and by masterly manœuvres he succeeded in escaping, by Jaszo, Rosenau, and Rima-Szombat, to Losonez, and subsequently effecting a junction with the main Austrian army. Of the army which he led from Galicia, not one-fourth re-

turned, and yet he might boldly claim the gratitude of the emperor. No other of the Austrian generals would have saved a single horse-shoe—probably not his own person—from the hands of the Hungarians and the defiles of the Carpathians.

The road to the Theiss was now open to Gorgey: the Austrian corps of Gotz remained behind in the mountains. Hammerstein, according to Austrian reports, had the last few weeks been advancing vigorously from Galicia, but had not yet made his appearance; while the fourth Austrian corps, which had been despatched from Pesth to support Schlik, had already received orders to march back again, for reasons which will be explained by the following occurrences.

Perczel had advanced from Moor direct upon Pesth, and in order to refute the rumour of his defeat, which had caused such consternation at Pesth, he reviewed his troops in the market-place, wishing to prove that he had not altogether lost above five hundred men. We shall not stop to examine the accuracy of his calculations any more than did the citizens of Pesth; they received him with hurrahs, and on the 4th of January he again crossed the bridge to Buda, and thence proceeded into the counties of the Theiss: for a long time no tidings were heard of him, and all was comparatively quiet on the Theiss.

Prince Windischgratz had dispatched the greater part of his troops to the east; the railroad was reopened to Szolnok, and this important point was occupied by the Ottinger brigade. In this position the Austrians were attacked on the 23d of January; and owing to the unpardonable negligence of their commanders, they suffered one of the most signal defeats during the whole war. The Csikoses were the very men for such daring attacks, bold and energetic in their movements, and rushing into the very midst of the enemy, they were close at hand before Szolnok, when the trumpet of the Austrian cuirassiers sounded to horse; the generals barely saved themselves by flight, while the officers rode off, mostly without saddle, and the common soldiers were cut down in



the stables before they could mount their horses: a portion of the artillery and ammunition-wagons remained imbedded in the morass. There was no battle, but the Austrians sustained a greater loss than in many a regular encounter, where the cannonade continues from morning to night.

The consternation was great at headquarters; Windischgratz even meditated the possibility of a retreat from Pesth, and dispatched all the troops he could spare toward Czegled, with a view to retard the enemy's movements. At the same time, he recalled the corps which he had sent northward in pursuit of Gorgey and to support Schlik. The plans of the Hungarians did not, however, at that time extend farther than Szolnok and the batteries of the Ottenger brigade; they again withdrew with their trophies across the Theiss.

Simunich also returned to the north together with the Götz brigade, leaving only small garrisons in the deserted towns. After the fall of Leopoldstadt, (February 2d,) he had been ordered to assume the chief command of the Komorn corps of observation, which was greatly thinned by sickness and sorties, and constantly required to be recruited.

The fortress of Esseg likewise capitulated to the Austrians, who, under the Lieutenant-fieldmarshals Theodorovich and Trebersburg, had invested it with a considerable force. The lower town was taken by storm, and Casimir Batthyanyi, the commandant of the fortress, fled: favourable terms were granted to the garrison, and they returned to their homes. Thus in the course of a fortnight the Hungarians lost two fortresses, which would afterward have proved of great advantage to them.

Temeswar and Arad were better defended against the Hungarians by the imperial generals Rukawina and Berger. The plans of the former general—of penetrating as far as Grosswardein and sharing actively in the operations from the south—were never carried out; but Rukawina heroically defended his isolated post against Vecker and Vecksey, who were better able to meet the hangman Haynau courageously in the field (Arad, October 6th, 1849) than to besiege fortresses.

Berger held out with equal bravery at Arad for many months; and had it not been that his artillerymen were more mercifully disposed to the town at their feet than himself, (they had their old love-affairs and friends in the place,) there would not have remained one stone upon another; for the town was bombarded no less than ten times from the fortress. This place deserves to be noted in the history of Hungary as one of the most faithful and devoted to the national cause.

Peterwardein, Komorn, Munkacs, still held out. The first two may be considered impregnable. Between the Drave and the Danube—between the Danube and the Theiss—to the right, to the left—now pursuing, now pursued, conquering or defeated—especially opposed to Nugent—Perczel and Damianich marched to and fro with their corps, until at length Gorgey, about the middle of February, drew their forces toward his army, with a view to aid in striking one great and general blow. They had to cover the southern passage of the Theiss, and formed the extreme left wing of the centre Magyar army, where we shall afterward meet one of them, together with Guyon, in the field against Jellachich.

Such was, in short, the position of the Hungarian army at the end of February. With the exceptions of the expeditions of Schlik and Gorgey in the north, no operations of importance had taken place. Windischgratz published bulletins of victories, equally devoid of sense and truth. His army was scattered, whereas the Hungarian generals had concentrated their forces with a view to assume the offensive.

Bem, the Polish general, had disappeared from the stage of public life during the eighteen years of peace that followed the insurrection of his native country. On the field of Ostrolenka his fame as a great military genius was established. Yet Europe had forgotten him when the revolution of October occurred in Vienna. He then presented himself to Messenhauser, the commander-in-chief of the National Guard, and when a proclamation of his character and fame had won the confidence of the people, he was invested with the chief command of the insurgents. Bem's extraordinary energy, cou-

rage, and presence of mind excited the wonder of the Viennese, and they obeyed his orders with a sort of awe. But all his exertions of heroism and military skill were of no avail against the numbers and discipline of the enemy, and the city fell into the hands of the imperialists. Bem, with a ministerial passport lent him by Pulsky, left the city when all hope had fled, and, meeting Kossuth on board the steamboat at Komorn, accompanied him to Pesth. At that place the Polish hero obtained permission to attempt the conquest of Transylvania.

The first day of Bem's stay at Pesth, an attempt was made on his life by a young Polish fanatic. He was alone in his room when the man entered, and said, "I believe I have the pleasure of addressing General Bem?" With these words he drew a pistol from his pocket, and fired it at the general. Bem received a shot in his cheek, and for a long time he wore a large black plaster, which covered half his face, and was certainly no improvement to his looks. The young man escaped without punishment: he had been possessed with the fixed idea that Bem had betrayed Vienna, and was now seeking to play the same game in Hungary.

On the 26th of November, a large crowd was collected before the hotel in which Bem was staying. At the door stood a light carriage and four. It was said that the general was setting out on a journey, and there was a great curiosity to see him. He came down, and, without heeding the eljens of the crowd, he stepped into the carriage, taking with him a small bundle, which constituted his whole baggage. Thus did Bem sally forth to conquer Transylvania.

In that country he found not a single fortified place in the hands of the Hungarians; but the more he felt their importance, the more anxious he was to gain possession of them. He found no infantry, but a brave and resolute population,—no cavalry, but excellent horsemen,—no army, but all the elements to create one. A few companies of Szekler soldiers of the frontier, and about seven thousand Honveds, with two

well horsed batteries, were to form the nucleus around which the genius of Bem was to assemble an army.

Besides the allied races that flocked to his standard, many Poles, who had stealthily crossed the mountains, sought service under Bem. The Polish corps and the German legion—which latter was originally from two to five hundred men strong, but had repeatedly to be recruited—were the bravest of his troops. He knew the valour of his countrymen of old; the heroic courage of the German youths he had still to learn, and to appreciate. Kossuth also sent him three complete batteries, but without horses or attendants; these he had himself to provide. The artillery was the service for which Bem's genius was peculiarly adapted, and his chief manoeuvres were executed with this force, which, terrible in its very nature, was much more dangerous in his hands.

The "rebel-chief" attached great importance to his batteries, and although he occasionally intrusted his cavalry and infantry to subordinate officers, he always superintended the service of his artillery himself. Previous to a battle he appointed the positions they were to take up, and examined and levelled them, usually with his own hand, whence he received from his German legion the nickname of the "Piano-forte-player."

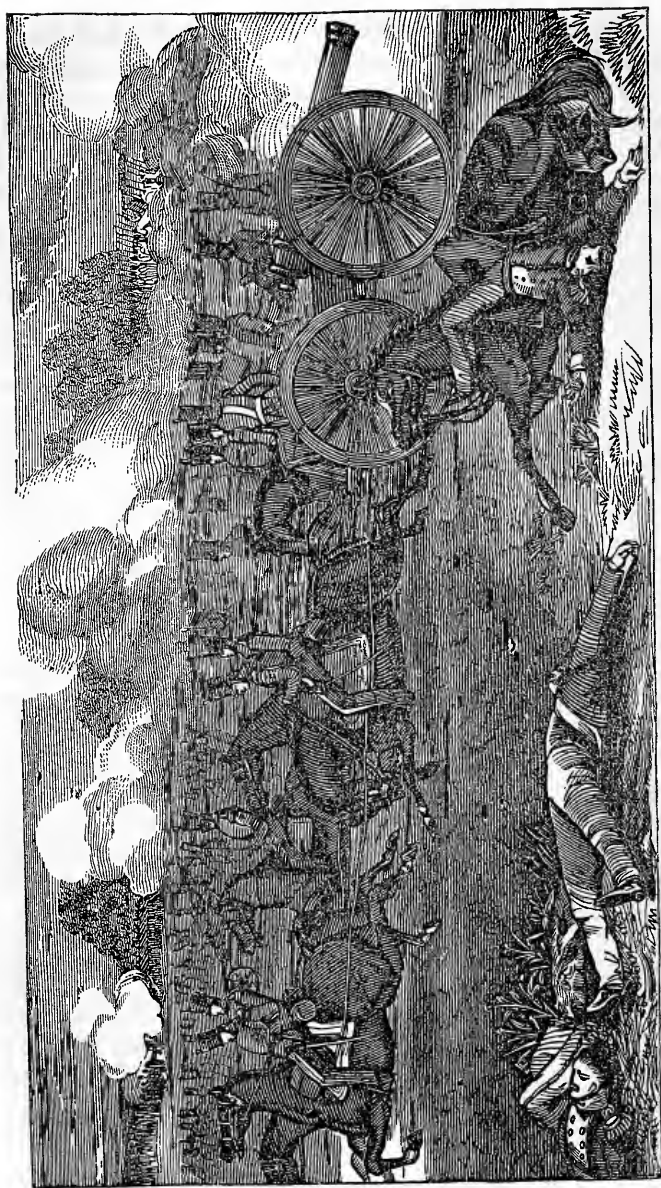
After spending four weeks in completing and organizing his army, Bem advanced on the 20th of December, and was in Klausenburg at the time when the imperialists entered Pesth. His first advance was overpowering: Lieutenant-fieldmarshal Wardener was driven back to Klausenburg, and Colonel Urban to the Bukowina. Klausenburg was taken at the first assault; Urban, who, in conjunction with Malkowsky, had again advanced up to Bistriz, was a second time forced back into the Bukowina. Bistriz, Klausenburg, Thorda, with the surrounding country, were all occupied, and established as a gathering-point for men and arms of the Szeklers. In the course of a few days two Austrian corps and three generals were driven out of the country, and the passes were secured, so as to oppose their return.

Bem now marched southward into the Saxon-land, where Puchner and the German population, who had been called to arms, were expecting him. On he advanced, overthrowing every obstacle that opposed his march from Thorda to Radnoth and Megyes. In the latter town the fugitives made a stand, in order to retreat to Hermannstadt, after a short but murderous conflict. Here Puchner was awaiting him with the whole of his forces. Bem's troops attacked him, and fought from morning till noon for the possession of this capital, which was heroically defended by the Saxon national guards. Bem was compelled to retreat, and took up his headquarters at Stolzenburg, two German miles from Hermannstadt.

On the 4th of February, Puchner assumed the offensive. The two armies met at Salzburg; Bem's artillery, which he had posted on the line of hills, repulsed all the attacks of the enemy, who again retreated for shelter to Hermannstadt. Bem followed them, renewed the battle a second time before the city with an enemy whose force was three times as strong as his own, and was repulsed with considerable loss.

He returned by the same road, but did not halt until reaching Szasz-Varos, in order not to have the strongly fortified imperial castle of Karlsburg in his rear. But here likewise he was unable to stop, and marched to Deva, destroying the bridge over Strehl, after he had passed.

Close to this bridge lies the village of Piski. On the 9th of February, the Austrians and Hungarians fought one of the bloodiest battles of this campaign, for the possession of this village and bridge. Never had Puchner's columns advanced to the attack with greater valour and perseverance, —never had the Hungarians, Poles, and the German legion faced them with such determination and cool contempt of death. Bem was victorious. Puchner was compelled to retreat with great loss. He retired to Hermannstadt: his right wing was no doubt glad to make a halt at Karlsburg, for the impetuous attacks of the Szekler hussars had cut them off from the main corps.



Battle of Piski.

Eight days before the battle of Piski, the first Russian columns set foot on the soil of Transylvania. Cronstadt was garrisoned with six thousand men, and Hermannstadt with eight thousand. General Luders and Freitag were ready to march on the first invitation; so that there can exist no doubt that they received orders direct from St. Petersburg. The fact that the invitation was made in the name of the threatened towns of the Saxon-land, and *accepted*, can be regarded at the present day only as the effect on Austria and Russia of the suspicious aspect of French and English diplomacy. It is now quite superfluous to adduce proofs that the Vienna cabinet, in spite of all their protestations, had at that very time already entered upon negotiations with Russia and sought her assistance. That this was insufficient, and only amused Europe with the spectacle of a Russian defeat, is a fact which the czar will never forgive either Luders or Bem. Even the issue of the war, to which the colossal armies of Russia so largely contributed, can never wipe out the first disgrace at Hermannstadt.

The news that Russia had at length thrown her sword into the balance caused the greatest excitement throughout Europe. All parties were alarmed at the new alliance entered into by the emperors, although it had for a long time been anticipated and talked of in every part of the world; all parties crossed themselves with a devout shudder before such a prospect of the restoration of peace; and only those anointed heads, who live in the belief that they are superior to the rest of the world, hailed the long-desired champion of absolutism with silent satisfaction and good wishes.

On the other hand, the confidence of the imperial Austrian generals in Transylvania, which had forsaken them in the last encounter with Bem, now revived. Colonel Urban ventured out from his intrenchments at Bistriz, with a view to annihilate the Hungarian Colonel Ritzko and his little band. Although he did not succeed, Ritzko was driven from his position at Baiersdorf, and fell severely wounded into the hands of the enemy on the 18th of February. Urban him-

self was obliged to return immediately to Bistriz. There he remained, until Bem drove him back to the Bukowina, from whence, in company with Malkowski, he had an opportunity of seeing the last Austrians and Russians turn their backs on the fair land of Transylvania.

Bem now for the third time attacked Hermannstadt, and came up with the Austrians at Megyes, (Mediasch.) The battle lasted (March 3d) from morning till late at night, and ended with the defeat of the Hungarians. They retreated toward Maros Vasarhely, the Austrians quickly following up their advantage. But whenever the Austrian generals endeavoured to execute rapid manœuvres, they invariably failed. While intending to pursue Bem, they followed only one division of his army; Bem himself, by a masterly flank march, turned from Megyes along the River Kukullo toward Muhlenbach, and coming from the west appeared before Hermannstadt on the 14th.

The garrison left in this town consisted of 8000 Russians and 2000 Austrians: Bem had 9000 men and the requisite artillery. With this force he stormed the town, after having in vain summoned the garrison to surrender. The defence of the Russians was not such as to inspire the inhabitants with any great respect for the black eagle: after a short fight, they abandoned the place in a disorderly flight. Bem took several hundred Russian prisoners and eight cannon, and sent them to Debreczin, to show Kossuth that the Russians were mortal like other men.

“March 15th.—In my despatch I had the happiness to mention, that I had sent a corps against the Rothenthurm Pass, in order as effectually as possible to cut off the communication of the enemy with Wallachia. The division could not however advance far, as the whole Austrian army was in Freck, and consequently separated only by a mountain-ridge from the defile, and thus my troops were threatened on the flank as they advanced. Nevertheless I got possession of this defile by a circuitous movement: and I shall not only defend this, but at the same time press the enemy in the direction





Jellachich.

of Cronstadt, from whence they will have great difficulty to pass the Carpathians in case they endeavour to fly to Wallachia.

"I shall commence these military operations this very day, etc. etc. BEM."

"Head-quarters, Rothenthurm, 16th of March.—My operations yesterday, for driving the Russians from the Rothenthurm Pass, were crowned with such success, that the same night at eleven o'clock, we dislodged the Russians from this strong position. The 15th of March, the birthday of national freedom, could not be celebrated more worthily. At five o'clock this afternoon the Russians took to the wildest flight, heels over head. Four Austrian generals, Puchner, Pfarsman, Graser, and Jovich, have fled with three companies to Wallachia. I have myself very carefully inspected the Rothenthurm Pass, and made such dispositions, that the Russians will find a difficulty in re-attempting to force their way through it. I have despatched another division of my army in pursuit of the Austrians, who, according to the reports given by the prisoners we have taken, have fled dispirited and in disorder toward Cronstadt. Their main force is at Fogarasch, but the rearguard has only just quitted Freck. The enemy broke down the bridge over the Olt behind them, which checked our pursuit for a time. Now, after the bridge has been restored, I shall continue the pursuit with all possible vigour. I hope to take Cronstadt in the course of three or four days, whereby the imperial Austrian army will be in part annihilated, in part dispersed, and at all events rendered incapable of disturbing the internal rest of this country.—It will then be an easier task to reduce to obedience the single Wallachian bands, which still make their appearance."

"Postscript.—After the taking of Cronstadt I shall immediately set out with a division for Hungary. BEM."

Four days later Cronstadt was in his hands. The Russians fled through the Tomos Pass, and the Austrians through the Torzburg Pass, into Wallachia,—twenty-one thousand men strong, according to official reports, with three thousand horses and fifty cannons, the Russians not included.

Thus was Transylvania, with the exception of Carlsburg, in the hands of the Hungarians. Bem had accomplished the most astonishing and incredible exploit. With a newly raised army, but just come from drill, and which never equalled the numerical force of the enemy, he had in the space of ten weeks defeated and driven out of the country, five corps of the enemy, twice traversed the mountain-ranges from north to south, seized a great number of strong positions, taken cannon, arms, and horses, made about five thousand prisoners, occupied the passes of the country from the interior, and at the same time raised and organized an army comparable to any in Europe.

Another Polish hero and military genius now came to the aid of the Hungarians in the person of Dembinski. This general was at one time the idol of his countrymen, and considered a commander of extraordinary skill. His previous history will be found in another part of this work.

At the instigation of Count Ladislaus Teleki, he left Paris, and repaired to Hungary by way of Galicia, through the county of Zips. His arrival was immediately published, with a sketch of his biography, in the "Kozlony," (Advertiser.) The other Hungarian newspapers copied this account, and the news reached Gorgey, (who, on his expeditions into the northern countries, was often cut off from any direct communication with the government,) that Dembinski had been appointed by Kossuth commander-in-chief,—Dembinski, who was on all sides called the first strategist of his age. This was enough to excite Gorgey's jealousy; he was Dembinski's enemy even before he had made his acquaintance.

After the storming of the Branisko Pass, there was no further obstacle to Gorgey's joining the main army; he met Klapa, in whose head-quarters he made the acquaintance of Dembinski. The Polish general had been for some time at Debreczin, where he consulted with Kossuth and the principal generals on the plan for the spring campaign. He fully approved of the defensive manœuvres on the Theiss, as they had been commenced and executed throughout the last two

months, and only awaited Gorgey's arrival to assume the offensive.

Gorgey was received with that respectful deference which his talents had a right to claim. Dembinski, above all others, was capable of appreciating the masterly execution of the last manœuvres of the young general. But Gorgey was reserved, and surrounded himself with a party who were ever after actively opposed to Kossuth and Dembinski.

This disunion was for the first time manifest in the battle of Kapolna. Dembinski had made the plan of the battle, and commanded the centre in his own person; Damianich commanded the left wing; Gorgey, with his picked troops, the right. He had raised objections to Dembinski's dispositions in the general council of war, but he yielded to the majority of voices, and took up his appointed post. Had he persisted in his objections, and in withholding his assent to the plan of battle, he would have acted more honourably. But he led on his troops merely to let them figure as spectators; the entire right wing, upon whose attack the plan principally rested, remained inactive, and restricted itself to a defensive position: the troops of Damianich and Dembinski in vain stood the fire of the Austrians, and were forced to abandon the field to the enemy. The loss on both sides may have been equally great, (the accounts on this point are very contradictory,) but the Hungarians lost the battle, and were obliged to retreat toward the Theiss. This was on the 26th, 27th, and 28th of February.

Much blood flowed on both sides, and in vain: for Windischgratz was not skilful enough to follow up his advantage after the battle of Kapolna. He sent a pompous bulletin to Vienna, whence it was forwarded to Olmutz. This was the long-expected signal for the Schwarzenberg-Stadion ministry. The battle of Kapolna gave no decisive turn to the Hungarian war, but assisted the *octroyée* constitution of the 4th of March through the pangs of birth, and annihilated the diet at Kremsier. After such a victorious bulletin as that which was issued by the chancery of the field-marshal, there was nothing more

to be feared from Hungary and the other provinces. The battle was lost through Gorgey: the gain of Austria was a paper charter, and the advantage of being thenceforth governed by ordinances.

Great confusion reigned in the camp of the Magyars. Kossuth trembled at the consequences of such a division among the chief generals, which must peril every thing. He exerted himself to the utmost to reconcile the opponents; but each one adduced proofs, reasons, witnesses, for the correctness of his conduct. Kossuth, who on this occasion had for the first time a glance into the fathomless abyss of ambition which Gorgey concealed under a quiet, simple, unpretending exterior, took him aside, and said to him, as friend to friend, "Brother, confess to me what thou desirest and wouldst have. Let me into the secret of thy wishes, and I will labour to satisfy them. Wouldst thou be dictator of Hungary? thou shalt be it through me. Wouldst thou possess the crown of power—thou shalt have it,—only save our country!"

Gorgey protested that his only wish, his only prayer was for the welfare of Hungary; and for this reason he could not consent to intrust it to foreign hands, who were less formed for the task, &c.

Dembinski behaved in the same high-minded and noble manner to Gorgey as on a former occasion toward Skrzyneki. From his considerate conduct, he had then to share in the disfavour which Skrzyneki had incurred with the patriots; in the present instance he voluntarily retired in the background, and resigned the chief command to Gorgey. The latter, in conjunction with Dembinski, Guyon, Klapa, and Damianich, fought the following battles. They were conducted with youthful ardour, circumspection, great strategical skill, and well-founded confidence in the valour of the Hungarian troops: they have immortalized Gorgey.

After the battle of Kapolna, the Hungarian army again retreated toward the Theiss, and during the next few weeks there was a suspension of the military operations of the two main armies. The prince had moved his headquarters back

to Buda on the 5th of March, with a view to co-operate in the projected organization of the country. He considered his presence more necessary there than in the camp; for, notwithstanding the imposing force which he had seen assembled before him within the last few days, his pride was unwilling to acknowledge the enemy's superiority and the impending danger. His generals shared this unpardonable contempt of the enemy, and thus it happened that on the same day, (March 5th,) the Karger brigade, through the unaccountable remissness of their commander, was surprised at Szolnok by Damianich, and suffered a loss still more terrible than that of the Ottinger brigade, of which we have before spoken.

Karger was superseded; Szolnok was again occupied with a stronger force, and the field-marshal prepared, as he did after every defeat, to assume the offensive. The Gotz brigade was advanced to Tokay, Jablonowsky was posted at Miskolez, Schlik in and around Erlau, and the main body of the army was distributed from that point to Szolnok. On the extreme right was posted the ban; but the headquarters were in Buda, and the field-marshal himself did not advance to Godollo till the 3d of April.

On the 23d of March, the day of the battle of Novara, the Hungarians began to advance slowly from all sides. The first blow was struck against Baja in the south, and the passage of the Danube forced at that point. In the course of this campaign Baja was alternately taken and lost ten times: on the 1st of April it was finally abandoned by the Austrians, who did not return until supported by the Russians.

The forces of the Hungarians were now deployed along the whole line of the Theiss, from Tokay to Szegedin. All the operations that had been planned and prepared on the further side, were to be carried into execution on this side of that river. The general advance of the troops commenced from east to west, and overthrew every obstacle that opposed their progress. No mention has hitherto been made either of the Hungarian or Austrian bulletins of victory; they were both uncertain in their statements, and no decisive result could be

gathered from them. From the moment, however, when the entire Hungarian army—both the corps on either wing and in the centre—simultaneously assumed the offensive, the plan of the campaign, its conduct, and consequences became at once manifest. The bulletins of Prince Windischgratz are no less amusing than remarkable in point of style: as relates to the history of the campaign, they have not a tittle of importance.

From the end of March until the 10th of April,—that is to say, from the beginning of the main attack upon the imperial army until the taking of Waitzen,—the Hungarians fought their most famous battles under the command of Gorgey. Properly speaking, these engagements constituted only one great battle, which lasted fourteen days, and in which the ground was every day shifted; every hour the Hungarians advanced toward Pesth, every hour they won point after point from the Austrians in hand-to-hand fighting. These battles, which began at Szolnok, and had first a short suspension behind Dunakess, which comprise the glorious days of Nagy-Sarlo, Packs, and Komorn, terminated with the taking of Pesth, the relief of Komorn, and the complete retreat of the imperialists.

Against Windischgratz, Gotz, Schlik, and Jablonowsky, were arrayed Gorgey, Dembinski, Repassy, and Klapka; to the Croat Jellachich was opposed the Servian Damianich.

On the 2d of April, the Csorich division, which was concentrated in Waitzen, set out for Hatvan. It came too late; Gyongyos was already in the hands of the enemy. Schlik, who had been stationed at Hatvan, was unable to save his corps from a complete defeat; Captain Kalchberg was his protecting angel, and with a few companies defended the bridge at Hatvan, over the river Ragyva, thus covering the retreat of the fugitives. Csorich, who had been ordered to support him, had no course left but to retire by the same road he had come. Jellachich, who was to have advanced to Hatvan with the right wing, in order to maintain the connection with Schlick, was overtaken by Damianich at Czegled, and

driven back to Alberti; but Schlik could not regain a firm footing until he reached Godollo.

A second time Jellachich received the command to move north toward the main army; a second time Damianich defeated him at Tapjo-Bickske, and threatened Windischgratz on his right flank, while the ban ran the risk of being completely cut off. Jellachich fought heroically at the head of his Croats, amid the thickest shower of balls, but the result proved that he did not remain master of the field at Tapjo-Bickse, as announced in the thirty-third bulletin of the Austrians.

The prince, meanwhile, (on the 3d,) reached Godollo; he brought all his disposable reinforcements with him, and moved toward Aszod, as Gorgey made a show of turning aside toward Iklad. At Aszod a murderous battle was fought, which ended in the complete defeat of the Austrians, who retreated toward Godollo. Tapjo-Bickse, Isazeg, Godollo, and Aszod formed in succession, from south to north, four of the finest imaginable positions for awaiting the attack of a superior enemy with a certainty of victory. The ground of Godollo, intersected by a large, wooded chain of hills, offers to an army all those invaluable *points d'appui* which are of greater importance than thousands of troops,—heights for the artillery, woods for the sharpshooters, plains for the infantry and cavalry; in short, no strategist could have pictured to himself any ground more richly favoured, according to all the rules of art and science. Isazeg and Tapjo-Bickse are no less important.

Both parties knew the value of these positions; the Austrian generals called out their artillery, their excellent riflemen, and their best cavalry regiments; the Hungarian commanders summoned the bravest of their Honveds and hussars to the field of battle.

The battle of Tapjo-Bickske, on the 4th of April, lasted from six o'clock in the morning until nine at night, and ended in the most disorderly flight of the Croats to Pesth.

The battle of Isaszeg, on the 6th, was the bloodiest of the



series. Whole ranks of Honveds were cut down by the Austrian artillery, but new ones sprang up as if out of the earth, and continued to fight. The hussars performed incredible acts of valour. Thus only could Isaszeg be won. Aszod had fallen, and Godollo, the most dreaded, was now abandoned by the imperialists after an unimportant resistance.

Kossuth and Gorgey embraced: "Now for the first time it is clear what the army is able to perform,—now Hungary is saved!"

Kossuth, followed by many representatives of the army, remained for some days in the castle of Count Grassalkowich at Godollo, where Windischgratz had repeatedly taken up his headquarters, and slept in the very bed which the prince had left on the morning of the same day.

The imperial army was drawn up in a line from Palota to Keresztur and Soroksar,—consequently in the immediate vicinity of Pesth, with a view to cover that city. The road to Waitzen was guarded by the brigades of Götze and Jablonowsky. Whatever reproaches may have been directed against Prince Windischgratz for his conduct of the war in Hungary up to this time, his chief error was, that after his retreat from Godollo, he contented himself with encamping before Pesth, and concentrating there his whole force, without sufficiently covering the road to Waitzen. This is the most unpardonable because the most palpable error, since no apprehensions were entertained for the safety of Pesth so long as the guns remained mounted on the ramparts of Buda; not a single Honved would have set foot in the fauxbourgs of Pesth, from a fear lest that beautiful city would immediately have been laid in ruins; the occupation of Pesth without Buda could be of no importance to the Hungarian general, and it was clear as day that the road from Waitzen and the relief of Komorn were the main objects of the whole movement.

The Austrian general seemed struck with blindness. Day after day the Hungarians made feigned attacks along the extended front of his army, retreating as soon as the Aus-

trian artillery approached within range of them. For a whole week Windischgratz allowed himself to be duped by Aulich, who kept an entire army occupied with his insignificant division, having watch-fires lighted up at night for miles around by the peasants, in order to mislead the enemy as to the extent of his encampment.

At length came the fearful news that Waitzen had been taken. Old Gotz had fallen in the engagement before the town on the 9th of April: Jablonowsky's brigade, too weak to offer any effectual resistance, was repulsed; Gorgey was in the possession of the left bank of the Danube, and threatened to cross to the right bank by the island of St. Andra, (April 11th.)

Windischgratz now perceived the danger of his position; his headquarters were shifted from the "Swan" in the Kerepess-street to Buda, and Jellachich quitted the hotel of the "Two Lions" in the Soroksar-street. The whole army marched to the right bank of the Danube; and had it not been for Welden's opportune arrival, and Gorgey's systematic opposition to the plans of the council of war, neglecting to occupy the island of Csepel, and pursue the Austrians unintermittingly from Komorn, Welden would never have escaped to Pressburg, nor Jellachich to Esseg.

But the route along the Danube toward the south was thus opened, and Kossuth's definite orders were disregarded by Gorgey. The ban led his corps, with all the steamboats that were lying before Buda, down the river: not a single shot was fired to arrest their flight, and they reached Esseg in safety with their ammunition and artillery. On the 17th of April, the new commander-in-chief, Baron Welden, arrived at Gran, and there made his dispositions. On the same day Windischgratz quitted the Hungarian soil.

The Austrian army has at all events cause to regard Welden as their saviour, for he extricated it from the fatal position in which Windischgratz had left it, and led it back safely to the frontier. His first glance was decisive,—his first command was a retreat. No alternative was left, and Welden

has the merit of having at once taken the necessary course, without seeking first, as is too frequently the case with new-beginners, to win a little glory on the field of battle.

The last two battles in the district of the Upper Danube, were fought at Szony and Nagy-Sarlo. The former reduced the Austrian main army under Welden to that disorganized condition, that pitch of demoralization which renders the largest armies liable to speedy destruction: the second battle annihilated at a blow the army of reserve under Wohlgemuth so completely, that its scattered remains did not reunite for a long time afterward. Engagements also took place at Pacs, and on the river Ipoly; but Wohlgemuth's defeat was the final and decisive blow: Komorn was lost to Welden.

Komorn is the key of Hungary: this is a phrase continually repeated, but perhaps as often misunderstood. An army may be in possession of Komorn without being master of Hungary, but can never be master of Hungary without Komorn. It commands the Danube not far from its entrance into the country, and has the power of preventing the passage of any vessels from Monoster to the Black Sea, thus stopping the main artery of the country at its source. The old fortress lies in the pointed angle formed by the confluence of the two branches of the Danube, at the extreme eastern point of the island of Schutt.

Maitheny, Torok, Lenkey, Guyon, Klapka, have all in turn held the military command in Komorn. These men were duly impressed with a feeling of the sacredness of their duty, the importance of their position, of friendship for Kossuth, and a conviction of the right of their cause. None of them held an unlimited command: a council of war had to decide on important points, and the commander-in-chief for the time being had to yield to the majority. During the first siege, this council was composed of Kostolany, Messleny, Torok, Gerlond, Jarossy, Counts Paul Esterhazy and Otto Zichy, Baron Jessenak, and others. The strength of the garrison consisted of eight companies of veterans, fourteen battalions of Honveds, seven hundred of the Honved artillery, and six

squadrons, partly hussars and partly Csikoses, amounting in all to twelve thousand men: the fortress was stocked with ammunition and provisions for above a twelvemonth, and was defended with two hundred and sixty cannons, all in a serviceable state, together with as many more dismounted.

In January, 1849, Simunich undertook an investment of the place on the island of Schutt, between the Waag and Danube; but the winter was very severe, and the siege-artillery not in the best order; while, on the other hand, the garrison were in the highest spirits, and prepared to repulse the Austrians wherever they should attempt to set foot. Simunich moreover had by no means the force necessary to invest Komorn. The operations during the months of January and February were a mere comedy. Despatches, reports, newspapers, passed in and out the gates of the fortress with little difficulty; and even at the end of March and beginning of April, when every effort was made to enforce the surrender, there were always plenty of adventurous persons who kept up the communication with abroad.

According to the accounts of the Vienna war ministry, they did not "seriously" contemplate a siege until the end of March. The weather and the impassable state of the roads had hitherto prevented the transport and planting of the heavy siege-artillery, which was at length conveyed in eight batteries from the Sandberg to beyond the village of Uj-Szony. On the 24th of March, forty-two twelve and eighteen pounders, mortars and howitzers, were ready to open a resolute fire, which had previously been confined to the destruction of the town, already uninhabitable, and the burning down of Uj-Szony.

The Austrians had thus spent no less than three months in planting their batteries, with great loss, on the right bank of the chief branch of the Danube: their guns commanded the town, the old fortress, and part of the Palatinal line.

During this period the garrison made numerous gallant sorties, while many a day was passed by the Austrians in cannonading without any glorious result. On the 19th the

Demontir-batteries opened their fire; and on the 20th, at eight o'clock in the morning, the bombardment began from the Kettle-batteries. Up to the 21st probably about four hundred bombshells and grenades had been thrown. On the 29th Komorn was cannonaded with sixteen-pounders; and the same day a sortie was made by Honveds and hussars on the side of Gran, who brought back into the fortress, men, cannon, and several hundred kilderkins of wine.

On the 31st the investment was re-established, or, as the ministerial reports express it, "disposed in full earnest." For this purpose the bridge previously thrown across the Danube at Puszta-Lovad was transported down to Nesmes-Oers, in order to establish at that place a shorter communication between the two banks; and at daybreak on the 31st the columns were in motion to take up their appointed posts.

The first division of the Sossay brigade seized and occupied Puszta-Rava, on the left bank of the Waag, and the little wood of Apati, from which however they were soon driven by the fire of the fifth Palatinal rampart. The second column advanced on the right bank of the Waag as far as the destroyed bridge, and under the fire of the fourth and fifth Palatinal ramparts. The third column, commanded in person by General Sossay, advanced farther than any other from Nesmes-Oers on the left bank of the Danube, and cannonaded with the howitzers of their horse-battery the fifth rampart, which now opened a fire upon this side also: so that the whole line was one continuous fire from ten o'clock in the morning till four in the afternoon, in which the field-pieces of the besiegers played a very subordinate part.

Three other columns of the Weigl brigade had advanced at the same time toward the tête-de-pont of the Waag, and brought back a few of their dead, with the report of the admirable manner in which the enemy's artillery was served,—a fact of which those in the right camp of the Danube had also become convinced, twelve cannons having from this point played upon the fortress and the tête-de-pont without the least effect.

The official reports called this fruitless attack, which was attended with so great a sacrifice of life, "a trial" of the garrison; and having stood this test so well, the fortress was put to successive and more difficult proofs. In the night of the 31st of March, four new twenty-four pounders were planted, with the intention of forcing the tête-de-pont of the Danube, and throwing red-hot balls upon the fortress. On the 1st of April twelve more heavy cannon and two sixty-pound mortars were brought up. On the 2d, a further number of heavy guns arrived from Vienna, and General Dietrich undertook personally the service of the artillery.

At length, on the 3d of April, a decisive blow was struck; Simunich, by command of Welden, issued an order of the day to the blockading corps, which contains the following startling announcements:—"There can be no longer any thought of a capitulation with miserable traitors;" and, "the taking of Komorn is one of the first conditions of the new campaign." To this the Hungarians answered by a sortie, carrying back with them to the fortress four cannon and forty Austrians; for on their side they maintained that one of the first conditions of the new campaign was the capture of the besieging artillery and of the men who served the guns.

All these statements, as here brought together, are taken from the official reports of the Austrian war ministry; but Hungarian and foreign journals, and private reports of the blockading corps, gave even at that time a description of the events of the last days of March before Komorn, which for the sake of truth must be stated, notwithstanding the doubt and obscurity that veil most of the details.

Welden had undertaken the command of the investing troops, and carried off with him all the artillery that had been stored up for years in the imperial arsenals. By his orders the general attack, described above as a strategical "trial," was made on the 31st of March. According to other accounts, this attack was simply a demonstration of insanity, an enterprise of senseless ambition and inhumanity.

Welden is said to have three several times commanded the storming of the fortress; three times in succession columns of riflemen, it is said, were ordered to advance against the ramparts, not a third part of whom found their way back. A fourth time Italian troops were commanded to storm, but these refused to march upon certain death, and Welden ordered a body of dragoons to advance upon their rear and goad them on to the assault. Austrian troops fired upon one another, and attacked each other furiously. Welden returned to Vienna, his life being no longer secure in his own camp. Such was the account very generally related.

Simunich made a fresh attempt, in the beginning of April, to reduce the fortress, by a grand, uninterrupted cannonade. He fired red-hot balls from cannon of the heaviest calibre and sixty-pound mortars from the Sandberg; but the fire was answered with superior force by the old fortress, the tête-de-pont, and the Palatinal line. Some dilapidated old houses in the town were thrown down by the immense concussion of the air and ground, but the works of the fortress suffered trifling injury. These were the severest days of trial to the garrison, and afforded the greatest evidence of the strength of the fortress.

Some Austrian officers, prisoners of war in the fortress, who were allowed to go at large on parole, once ventured an attempt, by a bold *coup de main*, to deliver the fortress into the hands of the enemy. The plan was discovered in time, and they had to expiate this breach of faith in the deepest casemates. At another time the besiegers attempted to gain by stratagem what they failed to win by force. Half a dozen Austrian artillerymen offered themselves to execute a perilous enterprise which one of them had devised. With the consent of their commander, they left their company secretly, and presenting themselves as deserters at one of the gates of the fortress, were admitted. In their pockets they carried tools for spiking the cannon, together with signal-rockets. By means of the latter they intended to give information to their friends outside when they had succeeded in disabling

the guns, that a general attack might be immediately made on this point. The project was bold, but not impracticable, and by gaining entrance into the fortress a great part of the danger was already past.

As good Catholics, assured of absolution from their church, they took the oath to the Hungarian standard, and were enlisted; but for obvious reasons they showed a repugnance to exchange their uniforms for the dress of the Honveds. This excited suspicion; the men's pockets were searched, and their significant contents discovered. By threats, the secret was drawn from them; they disclosed it, to save their lives, and at the same time they sacrificed the lives of hundreds of their brethren.

The signal-rockets were indeed discharged on one of the following nights from the plateau of the north ramparts of the Danube. Immediately the Austrian pontoons set to work upon a bridge; it was completed, and crowded with horses and men, who all pressed forward boldly, on seeing the silence which reigned in the fortress. A portion of the men had already landed on the opposite bank, and the crowd pressed on with increased eagerness, when suddenly a flash from the black earth-ramparts broke the darkness of the night—*there* at least the cannon were unspiked—and the shot carried death into the thickest of the crowd. The first few balls shattered the bridge to atoms, annihilating the brave fellows upon it. Numbers met their death in the river, many from the inaccessible guns of the rampart, while others saved their lives under shelter of the night. Those who had already landed on the opposite shore were obliged to surrender. After this terrible night no further attack upon the fortress was attempted by the Austrians. The discharge of its mortars alone informed the garrison from time to time that the storm was still raging over their heads.

Nearly four months had elapsed since the garrison in Kormorn, separated from the other divisions of the army, had been thrown upon their own resources and the protection of the fortress. The latter had proved its strength, and there



was no scarcity either of ammunition or provisions, notwithstanding the accounts given in the official reports of the imperial generals. The health of the garrison had not suffered; but that distemper had begun to manifest itself, common to all besieged fortresses—the feeling of isolation, fear, impatience, longing, doubt respecting the fortune of war in the armies of their distant brethren, and the possibility of a speedy relief.

Symptoms of doubt are the forerunners of dangerous dissension, which in turn leads to treason and to ruin. While on the one hand messengers, at the hazard of their lives, had brought the reassuring news from Debreczin, that as yet the cause of liberty had suffered no reverses, and every thing promised victory,—on the other, the dispiriting tidings from Kapolna had likewise found their way across the Danube, and the prisoner has no faith in liberty until he has lost sight of his jailer.

Repeated couriers arrived at Debreczin, pressing for measures to be taken for the speedy relief of the garrison. Kossuth deliberated as to what man he should send into the fortress—one upon whose energy he could rely, and who was at the same time possessed of sufficient authority and influence to infuse spirit into the faint-hearted, to restore confidence to the doubtful, to control the suspicious. His choice fell on Guyon, who readily undertook an enterprise which pleased him from its adventurous character. The expedition was to remain a secret, in order to prevent its incurring failure at the outset. Nevertheless the “*Esti-lap*” in an uncalled-for manner dropped a mention of the project, and Guyon hastened to Kossuth, complaining to him of the increased danger brought upon his enterprise by this newspaper gossip. Kossuth, who knew from experience the unconquerable passion of a newspaper editor for disclosing all that reaches his ear, vented a few ejaculations against his former colleagues in a body, and Guyon started the very same evening for Komorn. The route via Pesth was guarded by the Austrians, and he therefore took the road to the south, leav-

ing behind him all his equipage, together with his costly general's uniform.

Guyon travelled in the disguise of a Jew; and the skill and success with which he acted his part are proved by his safe arrival at Komorn. The story of his having, with twelve hussars, fought his way through the midst of the investing corps of the enemy, is a mere fable. People are never at a loss when inventing marvellous stories of their favourite heroes, and there was no enterprise of danger and heroism which the hussars were not ready to attribute to Guyon.

Guyon's sudden appearance in the fortress, the fame which had preceded him, his resolute character, together with the accounts he gave of the enemy's positions, of the general enthusiasm of the country, and the increased strength of the Magyar army, of Gorgey, Bem, and Kossuth, restored the confidence of the officers in the garrison. He remained at Komorn until the siege was raised, and his name is consequently not found among the generals who shared in the brilliant campaign of April.

After the battle of Waitzen, the siege of Komorn was virtually terminated; an imperial corps still remained behind, but chiefly for the purpose of saving the position-cannon, and keeping the road to Pressburg open. The first of these tasks they were in part able to accomplish. The greater portion of the siege-artillery was brought to a place of safety, after the heaviest pieces of ordnance had been rendered unfit for service; but thousands of hoes and spades, large heaps of sacks of earth, an immense number of ladders and implements of all descriptions, broken gun-carriages, and fragments of baggage wagons, masses of all the various parts of artillery, were necessarily left behind. With feelings of joy and surprise the besieged garrison, after their deliverance, witnessed the wrecks of all this colossal apparatus, which had been brought together for their destruction.

On the evening of the 25th of April, the enemy had disappeared from the country for miles around. The northern and western sides were open, and the imperial standard floated

only from the Sandberg, by the side of its fearful intrenchments. Schlik was obliged to occupy this position, until Welden with the main army had gained the road to Raab and Hochstrass.

Up to this time all the battles had been fought on the left bank of the river. On the 25th, the Hungarian vanguard under Knezich, and the corps of Klapka and Damianich, crossed the Danube at intervals of half an hour. At two o'clock in the morning the storming of the Sandberg commenced. The divisions of Knezich and Dipold forced these works the first; at daybreak Klapka took O'Szony at the point of the bayonet, and at eight o'clock all the fortifications were in the hands of the Hungarians.

The Austrian troops displayed their accustomed prudence, courage, and heroism in opposing the superior forces of the enemy, who pressed forward with irresistible enthusiasm. Their steady discipline and remarkable skill in manœuvring, which rank them with the first soldiers in the world, might have prolonged the resistance; but the Hungarians were joined by the garrison of the fortress, whom Guyon led out by the tête-de-pont into the open field. The Austrians could not hope to receive succour from the main army under Welden, which had collected again in Raab in the most pitiable condition; while Gorgey with all his forces was free to cross the Danube if he pleased, and cut off the retreat of Schlik. The latter therefore retired with his troops to Raab, and there joined the main army, after having suffered some slight loss.

There were great rejoicings in Komorn among the garrison and their liberators: the fortress had still sufficient stores of food and wine to welcome a second army, which moreover brought in its train thousands of wagon-loads of all kinds of provisions. The exultation of the army was unbounded: all the gates of the fortress stood wide open on their half-rusty hinges as in a time of profound peace. The relief of Komorn was the most important achievement of the campaign, and the greatest victory of the Magyar army.

At two different periods of the war the metropolis of Hun-

gary had heard at a distance the discharge of artillery. But the city had not hitherto been the scene of any conflict, and the only blood had been shed by the hand of an assassin, in the murder of Count Lamberg, on the Bridge of Boats, by an infuriated mob, September 28th, 1848. The imperialists, under Windischgratz, took possession of the metropolis without resistance.

While Buda itself is commanded on three sides, it commands the Danube and Pesth, and in this consists the importance of its position. It was on the forenoon of the 21st of April,—Austrian bulletins of battles won at Gran and Komorn were placarded on the walls, to amuse the good people of Pesth and quiet their apprehensions,—when the vanguard of the Hungarian army appeared on the Bombenplatz at Buda. Loud eljens arose from the citizens along the quay, which were answered by a cannon-shot from the fortress.

The Hungarians had reckoned on meeting with only a weak resistance, if any; they, therefore, upon the arrival of their first columns, advanced straight to the assault against the palisades on the chain-bridge, setting fire to them in different parts. Presently the Honveds were seen on the farther side climbing the hill in small detachments,—but only to meet their death from the musketry of the Austrians. Buda was not prepared to yield so easily the fame she had acquired of old in the days of the Turkish war.

The Honveds were repulsed with great loss. Those collected on the lower declivity of the hill were decimated by the fire kept up from the houses, especially from the monastery of the Misericordians. The inhabitants of Pesth were eye-witnesses of the slaughter, as the dead bodies of their sons and brothers rolled down the hill-side; but Gorgey must have seen clearly that a serious tragedy was in preparation in the amphitheatre of mountains around Buda, of which he was anxious to be the hero. “I will show the world that I too can reduce fortresses!” said he to Damianich and Aulich; and these words contained all the motives that induced him, in opposition to the orders of Kossuth, to encamp before Buda

with thirty thousand men, instead of pursuing Welden up to the gates of Vienna. A single order of the day, subscribed "Arthur Gorgey, from headquarters at Schonbrunn," would have been of infinitely greater importance to the future prospects of Hungary and Austria, nay, of the whole world, than the reduction of ten such strongholds as Buda.

Gorgey knew this perfectly well, but the plan to advance across the frontier had been formed by Dembinski, and approved by Kossuth; and this was a sufficient reason for Gorgey to oppose its execution. The siege of Buda was the first step in the fall of Hungary; it saved the Emperor of Austria the remains of his army and his crowns.

A brisk fire was now opened upon Buda and the city suffered severely. Gorgey then withdrew his troops and prepared for a regular investment and bombardment. All the hills around were occupied, and the Hungarians, though exposed to the Austrian fire, made great progress in their works.

Meanwhile the regular breach-batteries arose slowly and fearfully upon the Calvarienberg and Spitzberg. When these cannon opened their fire, the ground literally shook for miles around; for now that the object was to effect a breach, whole batteries were discharged simultaneously, in order that the concussion of the walls might aid the effect of the projectiles. The Vienna gate fell in ruins, together with the vaulting; and with this the rampart, and with the rampart the vaults, and the neighbouring houses. So likewise, the whole line of the Weissenburg gate was levelled by the batteries of the Spitzberg. The whole space behind these two gates was one immense yawning breach. At this point the fatal stroke was aimed,—here, along the whole extent of the fortifications, the storming took place.

Gorgey left this service to volunteers: the Don Miguel battalion, and the seventh and forty-ninth Honved battalions were the first that offered themselves for the task, (May 20th.) These troops were also the first upon the ramparts. Henzi died like a hero. Colonel Auer perished in an unsuc-

cessful act of vandalism: he had to hold the post on the aqueduct and chain-bridge, and in order to die with *éclat* when all was lost, he flung his cigar into a powder-barrel which communicated with the mine beneath the bridge. The traces of the explosion were to be seen six months afterward on the lower rafters of the bridge. The body of the colonel was found burnt to a cinder.

The exultation of the citizens of Pesth was unbounded, when they saw the tricolour flag hoisted upon the castle of Buda. On the entrance of the first hussars, (a part of Aulich's corps,) mothers, delicate women, and high-born ladies pressed forward to kiss the accoutrements of the heroes; children embraced the horses knees, men wept, and old men exulted with all the spirits of youth: the tricolour was a token of peace to the unhappy city. For weeks the poor inhabitants had been living crowded together in the little wood close by, and at New Pesth, and had distinctly seen their dwellings burning to the ground.

With the storming of Buda and the relief of Komorn terminated the first campaign against the Austrians. A long cessation of hostilities ensued, during which the Russian armies approached the Hungarian frontier.

In the meantime, the great Kossuth, the very life of the revolution, had been invested with dictatorial powers. His exertions in camp and council were astounding; every department felt his vivifying touch. In the beginning of April, 1849, Kossuth quitted the advancing force of the Hungarians and returned to Debreczin. In his absence, Paul Nyary, Gabriel Kazinczi, Louis Koracs, with a few other fearful patriots, had been intriguing to effect a reconciliation with Austria. Kossuth resolved to prevent all retreat, by burning the ships of the frightened behind their backs; or, in other words, by publishing a Declaration of Independence.

On the 14th of April, the representatives of the Hungarian people assembled in the Protestant church, for the purpose of entering the ranks of independent nations, after the example set by the Americans. Eye-witnesses of that assem-

bly assure us that the scene in the plain, unadorned house of prayer, was the grandest one in the whole course of the Hungarian revolution. Never was Kossuth's eloquence more electrifying than when dictating the letter of renunciation of allegiance to the Hapsburg dynasty; his glowing patriotism vied with his impassioned eloquence. The farewell curse thundered from his lips like a cataract; and as the people beheld the history of their centuries of suffering, the deceptions practised on them, and their unrequited and thankless sacrifices unrolled before them, and held up to their view like so many warning spirits, their hearts' blood stirred with feverish excitement, they trembled with irrepressible emotion. The thrill of present joy, the intoxicating presentiment of future freedom, could alone adequately recompense the sufferings, the bootless struggles of ages, or efface the remembrance of past griefs.

A thundering shout of exultation broke from that immense assembly, and swelling in its course like an avalanche, it was caught up by the multitude who thronged the streets without, and was echoed far and wide through the country around. The National Assembly had made a call upon the people for fresh heroism, for new self-denial and self-devotion; and the people, in their joyous enthusiasm, vowed to respond to the summons. The petty intriguers had not the courage to open their lips; the Vergniauds of Debreczin were mute.

The new president governor, had, immediately after the declaration of independence, to proceed to the formation of a new ministry. Szemere undertook the presidency, together with the portfolio of the interior. He belonged to the better known, and more influential class of politicians in Hungary: but he wanted the power of organization on a grand scale, and was deficient in those comprehensive views, that deep insight, which mark the statesman. In the former ministry under Batthyanyi, he one while inclined to the president, at another to Kossuth; at the same time he had frequent intercourse with the Archduke Stephen, and acted since the month of September as a member of the committee of

national defence, in which sphere he worked with untiring zeal and activity. In April, 1849, the new president of the ministry avowed himself an advocate for a republic, and openly announced to the house of representatives his government as democratic and republican. This change in the ministerial programme was necessarily calculated to prejudice the government in the eyes of the nation, since it was not in unison with the Declaration of Independence itself. It is difficult to judge of the motives which led Szemere to this premature avowal, for he might have been a very good republican, and yet have adhered to the provisional form of government declared by the diet. It seems that a personal mistrust of Kossuth, even at that time, with respect to the foreign relations of the country, induced him to this unfortunate policy. Kossuth erred in neglecting to come to an understanding with his ministers as to their views, before presenting the ministerial list to the house; but Kossuth was deceived in Szemere, as he was in Gorgey. The president of the ministry had never been a friend of the governor; indeed, people were so convinced of his hostility to Kossuth in Debreczin, that some even talked of a secret understanding between Szemere and Gorgey.

The semi-republican declaration on the Theiss alarmed the French statesmen on the Seine, and the Tories in England had on their side an easy game to play with Palmerston. Teleki in Paris, and Pulszky in London, endeavoured to correct this evil, by declaring that they both adhered solely to the act of independence; but in so doing they found themselves in the no less fatal position of being obliged to disavow the policy of their own government. These envoys, as the English and French journals of that time clearly show, endeavoured to represent that the form of government for Hungary was to be considered an open question, and that this country could meanwhile be as little designated a republic as a monarchy. But with the overpowering conservative elements in England and France, which readily seized on a pretext for remaining neutral with a good grace, the position



of the Hungarian envoys was by these measures needlessly embarrassed.

The act of independence might have been the cradle of Hungary's freedom: it was wrecked, on the false policy of the ministry, on the overthrow of Kossuth, and on Gorgey's treachery.

Two full months elapsed between the great battles on the Theiss and Danube,—the result of which was the retreat of the Austrian main army,—to the moment when the united Russians and Austrians opened the second decisive campaign. In May the siege and storming of Buda took place; June was wasted by Gorgey in purposeless battles on the Waag and Danube. In vain Kossuth adhered to the plan of Dembinski and Vetter, according to which the victorious Magyar army was to divide into two great halves,—one to invade Austria or Styria, and the other Galicia, with a view to transfer the field of battle and the revolution beyond the frontiers of Hungary. In vain was Gorgey urged to lead forward his army resolutely, in order to gain a decisive step before the Russians invaded the country; all orders and entreaties were thrown away on the obstinacy of this general, who, while professing his readiness to obey, never executed the commands that issued from Debreczin.

On the 2d of May, General Legedics announced by beat of drum in Cracow, that the Russians were on their march, to enter the Austrian territory as allies. The weakness of Austria was proclaimed with a certain pomp. The drummers were ordered to beat the deathmarch, as at the last moments of a criminal led out to execution. The Austrian government had pronounced its own sentence.

On the 4th of May, seventeen thousand Russians crossed the frontier via Cracow; on the following day twenty-two thousand, with eleven thousand four hundred and fifty horses. On the 8th, fifteen thousand crossed the frontier to Tarnograd, and twenty-six thousand to Brody, with nine thousand eight hundred horses. On the 9th, seventeen thousand men entered Wolosezys, and on the 11th followed nine thousand

by way of Hussyatyn. At the same time the Russian columns from the Bukowina and Wallachia were set in motion in the direction of Transylvania. In all, Paskiewitz advanced at the head of one hundred and six thousand men, with twenty-three thousand cavalry. Under him commanded the generals-in-chief Rudiger and Tscheodajeff. At the same time, (May 5th), the young Emperor Francis Joseph went for the first time to Vienna, and formally assumed the command-in-chief of the army.

On the 12th of May, the emperor issued a manifesto to the Hungarians, announcing the Russian intervention, and again summoning them to an unconditional surrender. In answer to this, the Hungarians advanced the same day to Sommerin, after scattering to the winds an Austrian brigade. But Gorgey on this occasion played with human life for the mere sake of sport; on the following day he recalled his troops from Sommerin. The whole of the Large Schutt island, the left bank of the Waag, and the right bank of the Danube, up to Raab and Hochstrass, were in his power,—in his rear not a single soldier of the enemy, before him a defeated army, which had great difficulty in collecting again and recruiting its ranks. Thus stood Gorgey, we might say, before the castle of Pressburg, before the gates of Vienna, and wasted in criminal wantonness his most favourable and precious time, and the finest forces of his country.

On the 30th of May, Baron Haynau was invested with unlimited powers. He came still hot from the slaughter at Brescia—heralded by the worst reputation of his age. At the storming at Brescia he observed a priest, who from a barricade had fired several shots at him. “The fellow will not hit me,” said he; “I shall not fall by the hand of the enemy, but by assassination.” He now came from the land where murder is naturalized, to a country of open, honourable warfare; here he had no cause of apprehension from the assassin’s blow, and he has shown his ability to make the most of his power after his own fashion.

Hardly had he received the command, hardly had he time

to muster his forces, to reconnoitre the ground upon which he was to begin the war in earnest, hardly had he issued a single order of the day, when already two sentences of death had received his signature. Baron Mednianski died on the gallows, and with him Gruber, on the 5th of June at Pressburg. The former as commandant, and the latter as artilleryman, had taken an active part in the defence of Leopoldstadt. A cry of horror rang through the whole empire, a wild cry of revenge echoed through Hungary, when people saw the manner in which Haynau passed sentence on his prisoners of war; and hardly had the pale look of horror disappeared from men's countenances, when the sentence of death was passed and executed (June 18th) on the priest Razga. In vain had the citizens of Pressburg supplicated mercy for this universally honoured man: he was doomed to the gallows; and ever since that time the hangman has had full employment wherever Haynau's courts-martial have been held. But with all his bloody sentences Haynau could only create martyrs,—to intimidate, to terrify, to disarm, to convince, he was unable.

The battles between the opposed armies continued with brief intermission. The Hungarian generals carried on the war upon a small scale with alternate success, but attended with a great sacrifice of life, and the clear stream of the Waag was too often reddened with the blood of the slain.

In the middle of this cold mountain-stream arise here and there hot springs, coming and disappearing according to secret laws of nature; from out the blood-red water a white column of steam arose, curled on the surface, and passed away. This was frequently to be seen in the month of June at Ujhely, Pischtyan, and Szered.

At the last town the Austrians attempted, after repeated and fruitless attacks, to effect a passage. Their scouts met with no enemy on the farther bank; it seemed as if the latter, alarmed at the approach of the Russians, had abandoned the defence of the Waag, and retreated in the direction of Komorn. A battalion of infantry, two companies of riflemen,

and a foot-battery crossed the river on one of the hastily-constructed pontoon-bridges. But the left bank of the Waag proved fatal ground to the imperial generals,—it was this time the grave of a battalion. Hardly had they reached Sempte, when the Hungarians charged impetuously out of the forest, which borders the chain of the Carpathians. The last corps of the Austrians succeeded in regaining the bridge, and reaching the other side; but the greater portion of the troops, together with their cannon and standard, were lost. Even those who afterward escaped to the river could not get over, for the first body of fugitives, thinking only of their own safety, had destroyed the bridge behind them. The Waag is deep and rapid, and most of the soldiers trusted themselves rather to the mercy of the Hungarians than of the river-god.

Of all the engagements which were fought at this time at different points, and in which both parties suffered considerable loss, the battle on the Rabnitz, near Csorna, caused by the rashness of an Austrian staff-officer, was the most important. Colonel Zesner, of the imperial regiment of Uhlands, had been appointed to command the Wyss brigade, which was to join the first division under Schlik. On the 13th of May, Wyss had orders to advance upon Csorna, to cover the right flank of Schlik's army, who was moving toward Raab. The evening before, Colonel Zesner wished to reconnoitre the enemy's positions, and for this purpose hired a peasant's cart, pointing out to the driver the road he was to take. The Magyar peasant knew the country well, and must have been aware that the Hungarian outposts were advanced far in this direction; nevertheless it did not enter his head to call the colonel's attention to this circumstance, nay he even exceeded the request of the latter, and conducted him not only within the Hungarian line, but into its very centre. Zesner suddenly found himself in the village, surrounded by peasants and hussars. Resistance was evidently vain, nevertheless he used his *pallasch* for some time against the peasantry with success. An old captain of hussars, who probably felt interested in the

Hungarian Charge at Semplo.



brave officer, likewise laid about him with a stick, and forced his way through the crowd to the cart, against which the colonel stood leaning to defend himself. The hussar called on him to surrender,—a sabre-stroke was the reply. Colonel Zesner was now a lost man—he fell, bleeding from a hundred wounds. In his pocket was found the order of the day for the morrow, and thus the plan of the advance was betrayed.

At daybreak on the 13th, a strong Hungarian column debouched across the Rabnitz at Marczalto, and attacked the brigade on the right flank. Its force had been unwarrantably weakened, the passages of the Rabnitz had been insufficiently manned, and in addition to all this was Zesner's disaster with the order of the day. These circumstances combined, led to the defeat of the Wyss brigade,—the severest blow which the Austrians had experienced for some time.

Four battalions of infantry, two companies of riflemen, three divisions of Uhlans, and three batteries, constituted the force of this brigade. But distributed as it was, (the outposts were already on the Lake of Konyi,) its single divisions were unable to resist a concentrated attack. The peasants of Csorna and the surrounding villages, who were prepared for the blow, did their part: more than a third of the brigade was lost. The Uhlans fought with superhuman bravery, to cover the retreat as effectually as possibly: General Wyss himself held out in their ranks, until he fell from his horse, severely wounded, into the hands of the pursuing enemy.

But, as was invariably the case in such discomfitures of the Austrians, the fault of this occurrence was laid to the charge of Hungarian spies. The chaplain and schoolmaster of the village of Siplan were arrested under suspicion, and conducted to Eedenburg. And yet this time at least the whole treason was found sticking in the pocket of the unlucky colonel, and in the false dispositions of the commander of the brigade.

A week later, these disasters of the Austrians were fearfully paid back, and the petty warfare gave place to greater battles. But to form a correct conception of the following

events, and a fair estimate of Kossuth and Gorgey, a few preliminary remarks are necessary.

The reader will recollect that Gorgey encamped before Buda with thirty thousand men, in direct opposition to the command of the government. After this error had been committed, which Gorgey endeavoured to palliate by a courteous excuse, Kossuth could only insist that Buda should be taken as speedily as possible; for to raise the siege of this *quasi*-fortress would have produced too mischievous an impression on the army and throughout the country. Meanwhile Kossuth was meditating to remove Gorgey from the command. He valued him as a brave general, but considered him a better tactician than strategist, seeing that a series of such brilliant victories had been turned to no better account. Repressing any suspicion of intentional treachery, as often as it arose in his mind, he offered Gorgey the portfolio of the war ministry, and appointed Damianich to the chief command of the army of the Danube.

Gorgey accepted the offer, and spoke of Kossuth's choice as the best possible. Nevertheless he did not leave the army, but wrote word that he must first take Buda. Meanwhile he endeavoured to remove from his side those generals who adhered to Kossuth as the highest expression of power, and at length even prevailed on Damianich to go in his stead to Debreczin and join the ministry. Damianich started, but met with a fall from his carriage and broke his leg.

Kossuth was greatly alarmed by Gorgey's disobedience, no less than by the accident that had befallen Damianich. He now saw no possibility of finding a worthy successor to Gorgey. Dembinski and Vetter were both out of the question: Bem had enough to occupy him in Transylvania, and Damianich, the only man who could be measured with Gorgey, was *hors de combat*,—Damianich, whom Kossuth prized above all others, whom he trusted the most. And rightly too; it was Damianich, to whom, after Gorgey, belonged the glory of all the battles from Hatvan to Komorn.

In consequence of the unfortunate accident to Damianich,

Gorgey retained the command. He made Kossuth the proposal to transfer it to Bem, well knowing that Kossuth would not consent to such a step; and thus he remained minister of war and commander-in-chief of the finest division of the army. To fulfil the duties of the first office he went frequently to Buda, meanwhile intrusting his corps to the chief of his staff. This officer, named Bayer, was his favourite; he commanded the movements on the Waag, behind the line of operation, and was the cause of the losses which the Hungarians sustained in that quarter,—losses which Gorgey always repaired in a brilliant manner on his return from Buda. No wonder that his soldiers worshipped him, or that he appeared to them a being of a higher order, coming to the relief of his sub-officers, whom he everywhere exposed from motives of remorseless vanity. Gorgey henceforth paid not the slightest regard to the general plan of operations which had been agreed upon at Debreczin. According to this plan, he was to have moved with fifty thousand of the choicest troops to the right bank of the Danube. The road was open to him. With Komorn as a *point d'appui*, he was to have given battle to the Austrians, if Haynau accepted it. If victorious, he was to have marched direct upon Vienna; but if Haynau avoided a battle, he was then to have driven him over the frontier. In case the Hungarians were defeated, they would have had in Komorn support enough to venture a second battle, aided by reinforcements from the Upper Theiss and the Banat. The war against the Russians would only then have begun; and if successful, the Hungarian generals would have been enabled to transfer the scene of war to Galicia or Austria.\* But in the worst event—as had been agreed—50,000

\* According to Kossuth's statement, the number and distribution of the Magyar forces were at that time as follows:—

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|--|-------------|
| Gorgey's corps (after all losses).....     | 45,000 men. |
| In the Banat.....                          | 30,000 “    |
| In Transylvania.....                       | 40,000 “    |
| On the Upper Theiss (county of Saros)..... | 12,000 “    |
| In the Marmoros.....                       | 6,000 “     |
| In Peterwardein.....                       | 8,000 “     |

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141,000 men.



to 60,000 men would still have remained together, to force the road by Fiume into the territory of Trieste and come to the aid of the Italians,—a turn of affairs which might have been of the greatest importance to the whole of Europe, especially when it is reflected that a large portion of Radetsky's army consisted of Hungarian regiments. Austria, alone, would not have been able to withstand this shock, and the advance of Russian troops so far into the west would have set Europe in flames.

Gorgey's conduct since the battle of Szony can only be designated as the insubordination of stubbornness and self-will, amounting, in fact, to treachery. No court-martial in the world could put a milder construction upon his actions. He allowed Welden quietly to depart, Jellachich to escape; he allowed the Russians time to invade the country. What shadow of a reason can be alleged for such conduct in a military point of view? And yet, after all, there was still time to resume the original plan of operations, and to attack the Austrians on the right bank of the Danube. Again he promised this, in a dispatch to the government, and again he broke his word. Instead of adhering to the concerted plan, he led his troops across the Waag, and was beaten.

This was the battle at Pered and Szigard, the first in which the Russian troops of the Paniutin division took part—the battle which compensated the Austrians for their defeats at Szered and Csorna—the first battle in which Gorgey's troops fled.

With thirty thousand men and one hundred and eighty cannon, he crossed the Waag, which had hitherto been the line of separation between the two armies. Here he was opposed to Wohlgemuth, whose inferior forces were obliged to yield before the impetuous attacks of the Hungarians. This brave general retreated fighting from one position to another, with astonishing regularity; but his troops were harassed with fatigue, his cannon were silenced by Gorgey's superior artillery, his cavalry could no longer stand their ground against the hussars, his columns of infantry began to fall

into disorder, and he would have been doomed to a second day of misfortune like that of Sarlo, had not the Russian Paniutin division appeared at the right moment on the field of battle. Its columns advanced in the midst of the heaviest fire, like walls, set in motion by an invisible power, and every gap in their front ranks was instantly filled up. Vain was the bravery of the Honveds, the self-devotion of the hussars; they stood here for the first time opposed to Russian troops, arriving fresh from the camp to the field of battle. Wohlgemuth, meanwhile, gained time to lead his troops again into action, who took courage when they saw their allies stand their ground. Gorgey's army was threatened in flank, and his troops began to be harassed; the tables were turned—he was now the weaker, and his left wing fell into disorder. He was obliged to retreat to Negyed, which he effected with great loss of men and cannon. The burning of the bridges hindered the enemy's immediate pursuit, but Gorgey was compelled to retreat to Gutta with his flying army, to recover his lost ground on a better opportunity. This never presented itself.

In the south, the tricolour waved far and wide—in the Banat, on the Theiss, on the windings of the Danube, as far as Orcsova. Szenta had already fallen in March, and the Serbs cried "treason," and threw all the blame of their disaster upon Herdi, a staff-officer. On the 30th of March, Nugent was likewise obliged to evacuate Zombor, and the Bacska was entirely freed from the Austrians. On the 2d of April, Perczel took the dreaded fortress of St. Thomas; Captain Bosniez was unable to save this venerable monument of Serbian bravery, which was converted into a heap of ruins. Peterwardien stood firm as the rock on which it is built; four battalions guarded this key of the Danube, to prevent its falling into the hands of the enemy. Temeswar was invested by Vecsey, Arad by Vetter and Gaal, with a view to prevent any offensive operations from those quarters. In the middle of April, Perczel advanced victoriously with the Tschaikist battalion; he found Csurug, Zabalj, Gjurgjevo deserted by

all their inhabitants, and left behind him in burning ruins Kaenadaly, Kach, St. Ivan, Gardinova, Upper and Lower Kovily. On the 10th of April, he entered Panchova, and the South-Sclavish journals unite to extol the moderation and humanity of this impetuous man, who never had faith in a victory unless his enemy was laid in the grave.

Meanwhile, the ban was endeavouring to push forward to the north and west, without succeeding for any length of time, although he was able to regain a footing between the Danube and the Theiss, and to invest Peterwardein; in the course of the campaign, however, we shall see him again in retreat to Ruma and Mitrovicz. Theodorovich had been driven beyond Panchova, and Knicanin remained fixed in the strong positions on the Theiss. Stratimirovich—one of the youngest and most able commanders of the Serbs, but the most fickle, ambitious, and faithless of all the hundred thousand armed men fighting on the Hungarian soil—occupied the Roman intrenchments with his troops.

The din of war had ceased in Transylvania, since the Russians and Austrians had been driven beyond the passes and out of the country. The fields were all under cultivation, and shone in the brightest green; the passes were barricaded under the personal direction of Bem, who indefatigably sought to take advantage of this pause in the campaign to assist the Magyar generals on the Theiss and Maros, in the cabinet and the field.

The positions of the two armies at the beginning of the campaign were as follow. Proceeding from east to west, we find the remains of Puchner's corps under Clam-Gallas in Wallachia, joined by the wreck of the Croatian army under Jellachich on the Drave and Lower Danube. These again were connected with Haynau's right wing by the Pettau camp, and with his main army by Oedenburg and Brud. His left wing was closed by the Russian Paniutin division, which was connected with the Russian main army by detached Austrian corps, while the former completed the outer circle in the Bukowina and the principalities. Opposed to these masses

of troops stood Bem in Transylvania,—Vecksey, Vetter, and Perczel in the south,—Dembinski and Visocky in the northern country,—Gorgey on the Waag and Danube.

About the middle of June the general advance of the imperial armies was commenced. Luders opened the dance. On the 13th his vanguard set out from Bukarest in the direction of the Tomos Pass; on the 16th he himself followed, and on the 19th he drove the Hungarians from their strong position on the Bredial; on the 20th he stormed Kereten in the valley of Tomos, which was held by Colonel Kiss with heroic courage until he fell mortally wounded into the hands of the enemy: on the 21st, Luders entered Cronstadt. At the same time General Engelhardt had penetrated through the Torzburg Pass; while the third Russian column under General Freitag, notwithstanding a great sacrifice of life, could not succeed in holding the Ojtos Pass.

Starting from Cronstadt, Luders and Hasford attempted the conquest of the Szeklers; but this wild, Centaur-like people drove the enemy out of their valleys, and forced the two generals back to Cronstadt. Meanwhile Grotjenhelm had entered the country from the north, stormed in succession Marosheny, Borgo-Prund, Illovanika, Bistriz, (25th,) and was preparing to penetrate farther, when Bem hastened to the scene of action, drove the Russians out of Bistriz on the 26th, and on the 2d of July back to the Borgo Pass. His presence inflamed the Szeklers to a struggle of despair; under their chief, Gal-Sandor, they pressed forward to Prasmar; Generals Adlerberg and Jesaulow, who had been sent against them by Luders, were again compelled to retreat to Cronstadt. Luders, feeling himself too weak to advance farther into the country, waited in his strong position until Clam-Gallas could join him. On the 12th, Bem operated against Nagy-Sajo, and passed this place, but on the other side encountered the superior forces of the Russians; he was obliged to return, and again to abandon Bistriz. As he was driving out of the town, a shot was fired from an ambush—probably intended for the Polish General. He was unhurt,

but his aide-de-camp Lukenics, who was sitting by his side in the carriage, fell mortally wounded. Once more Bem with his wonted rapidity collected all the variously disposed Szekler corps, without the enemy's being able to prevent him; nor did he for an instant lose the hope of retaining possession of a country which had become endeared to him as the battle-field of his fame, his genius, his hate.

The ban had for two months played a similar part in the south to that which Hammerstein and Vogl had previously played in the north. He marched continually upward, while he read in the newspapers of his imaginary heroic deeds against Peterwardein, Szegedin, and Theresiopol, without having advanced a single step. At O'Becse, indeed, he attacked Perczel's rear on the 26th of June, with double the force of the Hungarians; the battle, which commenced hotly, promised to be a decisive one, but Jellachich on the same evening retired toward St. Thomas and Foldvar. Together with his self-confidence he had lost all resolution of action. Equally undecisive was the battle which the Magyars fought at Titel, against Knicanin; they were unable to force the passage of the river: in vain the Serbs sacrificed their lives before Aerlass,—the Theiss remained the basis of operation to both armies.

Peterwardein was meanwhile invested on one side; and although this colossal fortress had as little to fear from storm as from bombardment, yet its relief was necessarily, for strategical reasons, the main object of the Hungarian generals in the south. The Austrians under Lieutenant-fieldmarshal Berger had evacuated Arad, the grayheaded commander and the brave garrison having been dismissed with honourable conditions. The investing corps was thus able to join the Hungarian army of the south, which it considerably reinforced. Its commanders had for a twelvemonth past an opportunity of learning something; Bem had himself drawn out the best plans of operation, Perczel had been rendered circumspect by experience, and Guyon commanded under

Vetter—Guyon, the bravest of the brave, who was himself a host.

Guyon was at Hegyes, in the county of Bacs, when Jellachich formed the plan of annihilating him by a great nocturnal surprise. Jellachich is no man of calculation: this was evident at the commencement of the war, when he marched into Hungary with the firm conviction that all the Magyar imperial regiments would go over to him; he has also proved this as a politician, no less than on the field of battle, where he was frequently beaten at the very moment when he thought himself sure of victory. So likewise at this time. Informed by spies of the position of the Magyars, he set out on the 14th of July, with the intention of surprising them in the darkness of the night; but the arrow recoiled upon the marksman. Guyon, having received timely information that the ban, whom he usually called "the perjured jack-pudding," contemplated to honour him with a visit, made his arrangements quietly, though hastily, to receive the uninvited guest in a becoming manner.

At midnight Jellachich set out from Verbasz, and advanced at daybreak, with full expectation of success, into the defile of Hegyes, without having even despatched a side-detachment toward Feketehegy or Szeghegy. He was already fixed in the trap, when the first cannon-shot thundered on the flank of his troops. This was Guyon's morning salutation, which found an echo on all sides. The shades of night were still struggling with the morning mists, when it became clear to the Austrians that every step in advance was one nearer to eternity. Now began the disastrous retreat through the cross-fire of the Hungarian batteries. The flight lasted without intermission to the Francis Canal, to Verbasz, to Ruma; nay, even here the ban did not feel secure, and removed his headquarters to Mitrovicz.

He there mustered his troops; not a third remained of those whom he had led over the canal in that night of horror: the rest had fallen, been taken prisoners, or were scattered to the winds. To the undaunted valour of the Ottinger

cavalry, which protected his retreat as well as they were able, at the sacrifice of their own lives, the Ban of Croatia alone owed the remains of his boasted army of the south. He attributed the failure of his enterprise to the "knavery of a traitor;" a successful surprise he would have doubtless called "the heroic act of a patriot." But for Jellachich to talk of knavery when opposed to a Guyon! why, the character of the ban, under its best aspects, can never be placed in comparison with the habitually honourable spirit of Guyon, which is the more admirable from its disinterested character.

The consequences of the victory were most important. The Backsa was freed from the enemy, the Francis Canal, his most important line of operation, was lost, the army of the south decimated, its remains driven into a corner, scattered and demoralized; the fortress of Peterwardein on the contrary was relieved, and supplied anew with provisions, ammunition, and men.

Thus the opening of the second campaign could not be called unfortunate for the Hungarians either in Transylvania or the Banat; in the former country nothing was lost—in the latter, all was won; at both points a pause in the war ensued, during which the two imperial invading armies in the north and west, according to the concerted plans of the two cabinets, pushed on their operations with energy.

On the 18th of June, the Russian main army, under the command of Prince Paskiewitsch, crossed the natural boundary between Hungary and Galicia. The third corps of infantry, under Rudiger, had advanced its vanguard to Hethars, and was the first that encountered the Hungarians. But the adverse forces were too unequal for any serious battle, and the Hungarians retired to their head-quarters at Eperies. Rudiger marched against that town on the 23d; the second infantry corps, under Lieutenant-general Kuprianoff, advanced in the same direction; while the fourth, under General Tscheodajeff, remained at Bartfeld. On this demonstration, which was intended for the left wing of Dembinski's army, the latter retired in the night of the 22d to Kaschau, aban-

doning Eperies without striking a blow to Tscheodajeff, who took possession of the town on the following day.

On the 25th, the newly concentrated Russian army set out for Kaschau, and, contrary to their expectation, found this place likewise deserted. It was evident that Dembinski wished to draw the Russian generals on to a precipitate pursuit, but the difficulty of provisioning the army from Galicia rendered it impossible for the Prince of Warsaw to advance rapidly. He allowed his troops a day's rest on the 25th, and (28th) divided his army into two columns at Kaschau. One of these divisions, under Rudiger and Kuprianoff, took the direction to the south, and on the 30th reached Miskolez; while Dembinski, still retreating, marched to Gyonyos, and Lieutenant-general Sass with the rear of the main army occupied Eperes, from whence he was ordered to reinforce Rudiger's corps. The other corps, under Tscheodajeff, took the road by Tallya to Tokay; and on the same spot where Schlik had been beaten by Klapka, a small number of hus-sars and Honveds stood their ground to try the fortune of battle against the invaders. They were driven back to Tokay without much trouble, where they joined a strong Hungarian corps, intended to cover the passage of the Theiss at its junction with the Bodrog; but a few hundred Cossacks swam through the river above and below the point of passage, and put the Hungarians to flight, who had but just time partially to destroy the bridge. This occurred on the 30th of June at noon, and the same evening the Russian outposts occupied the left bank of the Theiss, having thus crossed the line of separation which the Magyars had hitherto succeeded in maintaining against their Austrian foes.

Tscheodajeff encountered no enemy on his road to Debreczin, where he arrived on the 3d of July, and quartered his soldiers in the houses, whose melancholy aspect exhibited no appearance of their having so long been the residence of Kossuth and the great Hungarian nobles. Tscheodajeff's corps remained here until want, and probably likewise the vicinity of ten thousand Hungarians encamped at Puspoki,



obliged them to retreat. The Russian general was in such want of provisions for his troops, that he could not even carry off the arms taken from the citizens of Debreczin, and was obliged to destroy them. The motives of this isolated, purposeless expedition may partly be found in the vanity of the Russian fieldmarshal, who wished to be the first to march into Debreczin,—a point which the Austrians had as yet failed to reach,—partly in his erroneous belief that the capture of this town would destroy the courage of the Hungarians. The Russian general had forgotten the history of Moscow and his own country; nor did he know that Debreczin without Kossuth was worth to the Magyars no more than any other town in the kingdom.

We have hitherto observed three Russian divisions in their combined and isolated manœuvres in the north; farther to the west we meet the fourth, under the imperial General Grabbe.

This general was to have covered Cracow, but he afterward received orders to advance from Jordanow, and on the 19th he took up his head-quarters in Also-Kubin. His destination was to press forward from the counties of Liptau and Arva across the Waag, in the direction of the mining districts, in order thence to effect a junction with the Austrian main army, and direct his march toward Pesth, Komorn, or Trentschin, according to circumstances. Crossing the Waag at Miklos, he reached Rosenberg; but the whole country swarmed with guerilla-bands, which prevented his obtaining provisions, seized on his ammunition-wagons, endangered his operations, and annoyed him in every way; while Benitski, with a portion of the Polish legion, was strong enough to hinder a forced advance. Under these circumstances Grabbe could only retreat to Kubin, where he was nearer to his resources; and here he remained closely beset, in a state of inactivity, until Benitski, more punctually obeying the orders of the council of war than Gorgey, followed the Hungarian main corps in the direction of the Theiss. Grabbe now for the first time succeeded in occupying Krem-

nitz on the 8th of July, and Schemnitz on the 10th, still later, by means of his vanguard under Major-general Betancourt, he effected a junction with the Austrian General Csorich by Kis-Tapolcsan.

Thus the net of the enemy was drawn continually closer and closer. The Hungarians, as had been determined in the council of war, retreated from the north into the interior of the country, in order to form a junction with Gorgey's corps at a given point; for it was easy to foresee that Gorgey would be pressed from the west, whence Austria, together with her own collected forces, likewise led the Russian Paniutin division to the scene of action.

On the 27th of June, a few days after the battle of Pered and Czigard, Haynau assumed the offensive, and directed his army in three columns concentrically upon Raab. The right wing under Wohlgemuth, with the Benedek brigade as vanguard, was ordered to advance from Enese, to threaten the left flank of the Hungarians; the centre under Schlik was to follow the high road from Pressburg to Raab, and the left wing to pass through the Little Schutt by way of Dunas. The Russian Paniutin division and the Bochtold cavalry remained in reserve at Lebeny and Sovenyhaza.

Francis Joseph commanded the Paniutin division to defile before him, and led the first *corps d'armée* in person toward Hochstrass. Gorgey, threatened in his left flank by Wohlgemuth, withdrew his troops after an unimportant resistance across the Alda-bridge. Here Schlik joined Wohlgemuth, while the third Austrian corps advancing from Papa had already crossed the Raab at Marczalto, and threatened Raab itself on the left flank. Gorgey could not possibly hold the town against such superior numbers, and he had therefore withdrawn in the night of the 27th with his main force toward Acs, leaving behind only a rearguard of eight thousand men in the intrenchments of Raab, to cover his retreat. These likewise abandoned their position after a fruitless resistance, and followed the main corps. The young emperor entered the city as a conqueror at the head of his troops.

Soon after the taking of Raab, Haynau removed his headquarters to Babolna; Gorgey's troops were encamped at Acs, opposite to Komorn. Here he remained, protected by the newly-erected ramparts, which may be considered as the completion of the fortress on the left, to check the masses of troops which Haynau was leading on the Buda road toward the metropolis. Under him in command were Poltenberg, Knezich, Nagy Sandor, Bayer, and Leiningen. Klapka had assumed the command of the garrison in the fortress.

The Austrian lieutenant-fieldmarshal showed, at the very commencement of the operations, that he was on his guard against falling into the errors of his predecessor. All his manœuvres from Pressburg to Temesvar were evidently directed to the object of ending the war by great and rapid strokes. He was moreover unwilling to leave much for the Russians to do, as was proved by the haste with which he advanced toward Buda, Szegedin, and Arad,—a haste which, in spite of the fortunate issue, cannot be strategically justified, since it endangered all; whereas, by a less hurried advance, and more in concert with the Russian operations, little or no risk would have been encountered. But Haynau appears to be a man of extremes, in the field as in the cabinet; he wanted to press Gorgey to open the road to Buda, and for this purpose he resolved to make a general attack on the intrenchments.

Haynau's centre was posted at Nagy-Igmand, his left wing in the direction of the Acs, his right at Kisber. On the 1st of July he ordered the reserve corps under Wohlgemuth to advance from Igmand toward Puszta Chem, followed by the Paniutin division. The attack commenced on the 2d from these positions. The Benedek infantry brigade, the Bechtold cavalry division, and the Simbschen horse brigade, stormed toward O'Szony, and were repeatedly driven back. Benedek vindicated his ancient claim to the epithet of the brave, and himself headed his troops. Without firing a shot, they pressed forward at the point of the bayonet over their dead and wounded comrades; but the heavy artillery of the Hungarians

mowed down their ranks, and forced them to turn, followed by the hussars to Mocsá, and leaving behind them many dead. The Hungarians lost a field-battery, which, having advanced too far, had been taken by the Lichtenstein light-horse, after a sanguinary struggle.

Meanwhile Schlik led his troops to the scene of conflict, and the Reischach brigade received orders to take Uj-Szony. In the vineyards surrounding this village far and wide, they fell in with some light armed Honved battalions, which successfully attacked them. Now began a conflict on the narrow paths and among the vines, which at this season had put forth their first leaves. A hand-to-hand fight was waged, with ball or bayonet, and often decided by the mere strength of arm and activity of limb. At length the Honveds quitted the ground, and withdrew toward the village into their intrenchments: but the Austrians on the first assault took the foremost line of fortification, and with a general hurrah planted the black-yellow standard in the earth, without the cannon of the second line, which completely commanded the first, opening their fire. Not until the rampart was covered with white uniforms, did they commence their regular cross-fire, the murderous effect of which forced the Austrians to abandon the advantage they had just won. Both sides allowed themselves a momentary rest,—they had both earned it.

Gorgey on this day wore, contrary to his usual custom, the splendid red and gold-embroidered general's uniform, and his white heron's feather was seen at every point where any thing was to be disposed, ordered, or executed. The handsome, manly, but hard features of this remarkable man never wore the full expression of his soul until facing an enemy in battle: that was the moment when his face exhibited the excitement, enthusiasm, thirst of fight, and passion of his nature. Whoever has seen Gorgey in battle will never forget him: no wonder that his troops worshipped him as a god.

Gorgey saw the best forces of the imperial army wasting away before his Honved artillery; and it rejoiced the soul of

Battle of Acs.



this proud man to confront the first nobility of Austria as an enemy of equal rank—he, a man but lately without position, name, property, or ancestry, although gifted by nature with a consciousness of his own power, and nevertheless neglected, passed over in favour of young puppies of rich and noble families. He now saw them again, these proud cavaliers of Austria, marching at the head of their companies, battalions, and brigades—he saw them fight, bleed, fall.

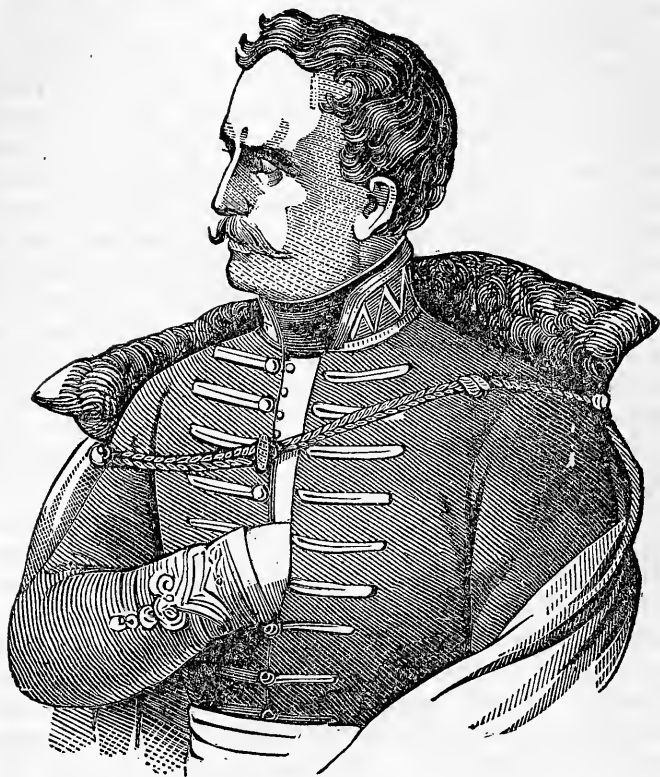
Gorgey was perhaps, on the 2d of July, undetermined in his own mind as to his position and future course of action. Whether it was the result of cool calculation, or that the heat of battle carried him away, we know not, but, after repeatedly repulsed attacks of the Austrians, he assumed the offensive, and attempted to break through the enemy's masses. With this view he ordered his bravest divisions of cavalry into the field; at Uj-Szony the battle raged fiercely, and extended far and wide; Puszta-Herkaly, originally occupied by the Austrians, was repeatedly won and lost, and the Reischach and Parma brigades were decimated. At Acs twelve thousand Hungarians attempted to outflank the left wing of the Austrians; both sides fought with desperation, the one to force a passage, the other to prevent it. The endeavour to outflank the left wing was frustrated by the Bianchi brigade, who were masked by a wood; but the centre was in the utmost danger, when suddenly Paniutin, the saviour at all moments of need, advanced with his Russians from Puszta-Csem. The Hungarians, too exhausted to recommence the battle against this new enemy, withdrew into their intrenched positions. Haynau himself, in a bulletin, acknowledged "the timely appearance" of the Russians. The victory remained undecided, but the Austrians suffered far greater losses than their enemy. Haynau had become convinced by experience that Gorgey's positions were unassailable, while the latter perceived that Haynau's masses of troops were too compact to be broken. The most fearful thing in the great tragedies of war is, that the experiments of the generals are often attended

with greater sacrifice of life than their most brilliant successes.

The battle of the 2d of July was claimed by the commanders of both armies as a victory. They were both right and both wrong. Each had failed in the attack—each had made a brilliant defence. But the Hungarian government must have learned to perceive, that such victories are nothing else than brilliant preludes to an inglorious end. The original plan of operations adopted by the general council of war had been frustrated by Gorgey's obstinate self-will, especially after his announcing laconically to the government that he was no longer able to cover their position, and advised them to remove to some other town. The terror created by this message spread through Pesth with the rapidity of lightning. Csanyi, Vukowich, and Szemere remained longest in the metropolis; Kossuth preceded them to Czegled, to adopt the utmost possible means of defence.

The diet had already been dissolved: the pressure of the times allowed not of fine speeches. This Debreczin parliament moreover did not respond to the greatness of its task: it aimed at effecting important reforms, yet shrunk back from a great crisis, waiting to have this forced upon it, instead of anticipating its approach. The diet comprised eloquent speakers and true patriots, but no heroes in thought, most of these men following implicitly the dictates of the governor. A parliament may be induced to pass resolutions by the force of eloquence and argument, but it ought also to have the courage to carry those resolutions into effect.

But the government at length resolved upon a decisive step, and appointed Meszaros, seconded by Dembinski, commander-in-chief of the Hungarian armies, at the same time directing Gorgey to obey his orders. Gorgey received this announcement on the 2d, just as he returned heated, exhausted, and wounded from battle. It might almost be imagined that he had this day sought death: the words he is said to have addressed to his Honveds seem to imply this: "Forward, my children! the ball to-day hits me alone!"



Aulich.

and his splendid general's uniform, visible from afar, appeared intentionally worn to serve as a target to the enemy's balls.

Fate, however, spared him; the wound in his head was trifling, but the mandate of the government rankled in his heart. Only three days before he had given assurance to the Minister Csanyi, Generals Kiss and Aulich, who were sent by Kossuth to his camp, that he would carry out the plan of the council of war, obey the instructions of the



government, and lead his troops to the Theiss; nevertheless, on the evening of the 2d of July all these promises were forgotten. He announced briefly to the government that he would no longer subject his brave troops to their decrees, but would employ them in accordance with his own views, and fight, uncontrolled by any commands, for the independence of his country. At the same time he remained quietly in his intrenchments, notwithstanding the daily arrival of couriers, announcing the advance of the Russians by the mining districts. He knew that every hour of delay on his part was one of despair to Kossuth, and he wished to show that the cause of Hungary rested no longer upon Kossuth's lips, but on the point of Gorgey's sword. Lamentable vanity, which devoted Gorgey himself, Kossuth, and all his country to destruction!

Gorgey again endeavoured to force a passage through Haynau's ranks; it seemed the last act of despair—the only alternative to his being compelled to lay down his arms on the open field, wedged in between the Austrian army of the Danube and the advancing Russians.

It was on the 10th of July at noon—storm and rain obscured the horizon, mist from the river and marshes lay spread out upon the lowlands which were intersected by undulating chains of hills—when the Hungarians debouched from their intrenchment in great force, and simultaneously advanced to the attack on different points.

Gorgey exhibited on the 10th, as before on the 2d, the masterly skill of a great general and the self-devotion of a brave soldier at the head of his troops. In the woods at Acs the Honveds fought in close masses, and saturated the ground with their blood. The imperial generals themselves were struck with admiration at the national infantry, so much derided, who pressed forward with lowered bayonets, their muskets still loaded. They fought with all the ardour of young soldiers, and the cool self-possession of grayheaded heroes; but they found an iron foe in the Bianchi, Sartori, Reischach brigades, and the Ludwig cavalry brigade. The loss was

great on both sides, and night saw each army in its former position.

The Hungarians had not better success on the other points of attack. The hussars were repulsed before Mocsá by the Bechtold division of cavalry. At Puszta-Herkály, indeed, Gorgey for a long time had the advantage; the enemy's columns were overthrown; the Austrian infantry began to stagger and fall back in confusion; the fortune of the day was on the point of being decided, and the valour of a Benedek and Herzinger (these two generals had both their horses killed under them) would hardly have been able to save the battle to the imperialists, when once more Paniutin, Gorgey's evil spirit, appeared, with his living walls of troops and his powerful park of artillery. At five o'clock the battle was terminated on all points. The hussars rode downcast into their quarters; but Gorgey exhibited a cheerful face; he trusted to his brave troops and his own genius to find another outlet.

Gorgey's object now was to break through the Russian army on the east, having failed in this attempt upon the Austrians in the south. He ordered Klapka, with all the forces which were destined under his command to form the garrison of Komorn, to make a general attack upon the Austrian main army. Klapka executed his mission with that bravery and circumspection which have distinguished this general from first to last. Sparing of human life, but the more lavish of powder and shot, he conducted his attack so skilfully, employed his comparatively weak force with such prudence and management, he divided his artillery and the few squadrons of cavalry that remained to him in so masterly a manner, that the headquarters at Dotis were seriously threatened, and the Austrian generals led to believe that they were opposed by Gorgey's entire army, who intended to venture a decisive battle for a third time.

Gorgey, meanwhile, unperceived, marched along the left bank of the Danube on the road to Waitzen, to meet the Russians. He encountered their first outposts at Parkany;

they retreated hastily to Waitzen, which was occupied by a Mussulman regiment under Prince Bebutow. The latter begged and received immediate succour from General Sass, at Hort and Hatvan, and on the 15th commenced a hot engagement, fought principally with artillery and cavalry. Nagy Sandor's corps had formed a junction with Gorgey, who, after the losses he had sustained on the Waag and Danube, had still under his command an army of 45,000 of the choicest troops, together with a park of artillery of seventy to eighty guns. At Waitzen, Gorgey for the first time encountered unmixed Russian troops, and his admirably-served artillery kept possession of the field. The following day the Russians renewed the battle, having received strong reinforcements; Ramberg had hastened to their aid from Pesth.

The heights of Waitzen now became the theatre of a murderous conflict. The fight raged into the streets of the town, and the walls of the houses were battered by the grenade and cartridge-fire of the Russians; but in the midst of this iron hail the Hungarians retreated slowly, as if intending to hold Waitzen to the last man.

Nagy Sandor with 12,000 men now made a stand against an overwhelming force, as long as he deemed it of any avail; he then followed the main army, the enemy not daring to pursue him. The latter did not discover until afterward that they had merely been engaged with the rearguard; and the Russian general openly acknowledged this in his bulletin, thereby testifying to the bravery of the Hungarians as it deserved. "General Perczel," said Kossuth, "was during the battle of Waitzen only a few miles distant with 26,000 men at Nagy Kata, but Gorgey neither wrote nor sent. He had merely to have said one word, and we should have taken the Russians between two fires and annihilated them—but he was silent."

Thus had Gorgey himself broken the first mesh of the great imperial net which surrounded him; he now lost himself in his well-known mountain paths, and for a long time

no one knew where he was wandering. We will leave him to develop at leisure his skilful manœuvres, and turn our attention to other points.

In Transylvania, all the horrors of war raged in the valleys, on the mountains, in the wild ravines, at the gates of the most flourishing towns. After the mountain passes had once been opened, the united forces of the enemy poured incessantly, like a flood, through the broken-down sluices, threatening to overwhelm the defenders of the country from all sides. Bem's battles had been fought in vain, and even his conciliatory conduct, by which he hoped for a time to efface the hatred and jealousy of the different races, was thrown away. The presence of the imperial armies, their manifestos and promises, and on the other side the straitened position of the Polish generals, had the effect of arousing old hostilities, old recollections, claims, and hopes among the wild Wallachs, who in that country are called Motzen. The hordes of these mountaineers were stirred, and thousands crept from their hiding-places like reptiles awakened to new life by the sun's rays. Bem saw the numbers of his enemies increase fearfully on every spot of ground he had to defend. A disproportionately small army was under his command, and although the Szeklers were ever ready for the fight, yet many of his officers longed for rest, and the pay of the troops began moreover to fail, since on the flight of the government from Pesth the banknote-press had been stopped.

On the 15th of July, Clam-Gallas had led Puchner's former corps from its quarters in Wallachia to Transylvania, (the Turkish government had not ventured, according to international right, to disarm this corps on their territory,) his main object being, in conjunction with the Russians, to relieve Carlsburg, which was hard pressed. But Bem still felt himself strong enough to enter the field against the united imperial generals. He collected his Szekler troops at Haromszek, defeated the Austrians who had ventured to advance so far, and threatened Cronstadt and Hermannstadt at the same time. The Russian generals, who had gained lessons of ex-

perience from their first unsuccessful campaign, remembering that they had once possessed the two capitals only to lose them again, would not sacrifice their honour and that of the Russian arms a second time; they prudently withdrew before Bem's army, carrying away their military chest and stores in the utmost haste from Cronstadt, after being compelled by two successive defeats to retreat to Illyefalva and Aldoboly. Bem took advantage of this weakness of the enemy to advance into Moldavia by the Ojitos Pass, (23d.) He hoped by his presence to put in motion all the revolutionary elements which had accumulated for years past in the principalities; and as Transylvania was half lost, he sought to gain in Moldavia a field for new battles. In this he deceived himself. His rapid advance to Roman failed, equally with his proclamations, to raise the people of Moldavia, and he consequently had no alternative but to retreat hastily into Transylvania. Here, as early as the 26th, General Hasford, after taking the chief town in the Saxon-land, had driven back the Szeklers to Reismark. Bistriz had also again fallen, the Szeklers having fled like cowards before Grotjenhelm.

Luders had advanced to Schassburg, and Bem, who appeared before this town on the 31st, could hold it no longer. He quickly marched to Mediasch, with a view to unite with Kemeny Farkas, who brought him four thousand men and twelve cannon from Klausenburg: strengthened by this reinforcement, he was anxious to make a bold *coup-de-main* upon Hermannstadt, in order if possible to drive Hasford back into Wallachia. His attack on Hasford's column leaves no doubt as to this intention; he repulsed him impetuously from the Salzburg and Reismark side toward Hermannstadt, which the Russians were obliged to evacuate, and were pursued to Talmasch. Hasford's corps would not have long been able to withstand the impetuosity of the Szeklers, the Rothen-thurm Pass would have again seen the Russians flying from the country, Bem would have occupied Hermannstadt, and have had one enemy less to contend with, had not Luders, who saw through the plan of the enemy, operated on his flank



Bem.

with a view to relieve Hasford. Bem, compelled to maintain a front against this second enemy, attacked the latter in his excellent position on the heights of Grosscheuern ; but the Russians made a stand, and their cavalry rendered it impossible for Bem to outflank their left wing, while the right was sufficiently protected by the hilly nature of the ground. The Polish general vainly exerted all his skill in manœuvring ;

vain was the daring valour of his cavalry, who defied all obstacles of a hostile soil and the enemy's batteries; vain was the self-devotion of isolated detachments of Honveds, who, at the risk of being cut off, stole forward through the thickets on the acclivities, to harass the Russians on all sides. Bem was that night indebted to the clumsiness of his enemy alone for being able to lead his troops toward the Maros, which he crossed—never to return. We too shall now take leave of the mountains of the south, cast a rapid glance over the plains and marshes between the Maros and the Theiss, which at that time lodged no enemy, and direct our view to the valleys of the north, where we left the Russian main army.

The Russians were still encamped on the 5th of July before Miskolez; Dembinski had withdrawn to Gyongyos; the Prince of Warsaw had removed his headquarters to Abrama on the 9th, and we do not find him in Aszod until twelve days later. Dembinski and Paskiewitsch—the Pole and the Russian, the general of the autocrat and the patriot of a world, the two old foes grown gray in battle—here stood watching one another with that circumspection which testified their mutual respect. The Prince of Warsaw could only advance slowly, being obliged above all things to keep channels open for the supply of provisions. Dembinski, on the other hand, must have welcomed every hour of delay, as favouring the possibility of a final concentration of all the Magyar forces. He remained inactive, but ready for instant battle when Gorgey should appear from the east, to place the Russian main army between two fires.

Gorgey did not make his appearance; Visocky and Desseffy were therefore obliged to remain on the Theiss, instead of reinforcing the army of the south, as had been determined in the last great council of war. It was to be feared that the Russian main army would take the route to the south, in order to unite with the ban; Vetter would have been too weak to face both enemies, the Bacska would have been lost, and with it the last hope of a great concentration between the Theiss and Danube. Dembinski, in consideration of

these circumstances, was obliged to relinquish his Fabius-like system; and being informed by spies that his enemy was preparing for a great battle on the 23d, he resolved at once to anticipate his movements.

The Dessewffy and Visocky brigades had two days before threatened the right flank of the Russians, and repulsed a division of Uhlans, intended to cover it, upon the vanguard Tolstoi; but afterward, when Tolstoi developed his superior strength, they discontinued the fight, still retaining a position in immediate connection with Dembinski, to afford a powerful support to all his manœuvres. On the 23d of July, at two o'clock in the morning, three hours before Paskiewitsch had determined to break up his quarters at Hatvan, Dembinski's centre stood before this place, (Paskiewitch, deceived by spies, believed him to be retreating toward Erlau,) and took it by storm on the first assault. The Russian soldiers had the previous night received a great allowance of spirits, and slept more soundly than usual; their columns formed but slowly, so that, according to Dembinski's report, many of them ran off, or were taken prisoners in their shirts. Paskiewitsch himself now brought up the reserves from Aszod, but was driven back at the point of the bayonet by the Hunyady regiment; and before he could attempt a second attack, the appearance of Colonel Bottner from Pata obliged him to retreat. The centre and left wing of the Russians were thus pressed together, and the right wing was also forced to abandon its position at Jasz Bereny, and retire to Sorokcar. The Russian general now united all his disposable forces, and drew them out of their confined position. At nine o'clock in the morning, the battle was at its height, at ten it was decided; the Hungarian cavalry and the Polish lancers turned the scale. The Russians lost all their baggage, twelve cannon, and eight hundred prisoners. Under different circumstances, this victory would have been important; but Hungary could now only be saved by a war of annihilation; there was no longer any question of winning or losing positions, but of the existence or non-existence of



armies. The possibility of success was, at all events, opened to the Hungarians; but Gorgey had only one object in view, that of overthrowing Kossuth: and to effect this, he sought to lower him in power, step by step, in order that, at the decisive moment, when Kossuth should confess his weakness, he might place himself at the head of affairs, as the only man capable of holding the helm.

We meet him again after the battle of Waitzen, on his route northward. At Retsag, on the small lake formerly known by the name of "Ocellum Maris," an insignificant Russian corps made a stand against him; he was content to avoid it. At Vadkert he again fell in with the Russian troops, but here also, like a lion, he despised inferior prey, continued his march toward Balassa-Gyarmath, and took up his headquarters, on the 19th, in Ludany. He now stood on the river Ipoly, which, rising a few miles to the north in the Oztrosky Mountains, rushes with impetuous force through the valley; here, on the Raros Pass, extending between the river and the wooded mountains, he had thought to gain a firm footing, but it was too late. Grabbe, who had preceded, drove him still further northward to Losonecz. Sass followed in his footsteps, and came up with his rearguard at Losonecz, after the main corps had already marched out on the road to Gyongyos. Nagy Sandor, who commanded the rearguard since the battle of Waitzen, withstood the shock bravely, and after a hot engagement, which spread into the streets of the town, was able to follow the main corps, united with which, he, on the 25th, occupied the strong positions before Gomor.

But the farther Gorgey proceeded eastward and nearer to the Theiss, the more narrowed became the circle of the Russians, who were pursuing and awaiting him. Saas, who hung upon his heels, daily concentrating the scattered columns, was now in direct communication with Grabbe, and the two generals combined their manœuvres for a great chase in the mountains, while Tschoedajeff in Miskolcz was waiting like a sportsman at his post, until the noble prey was driven within shot.

That Gorgey on his way to Gomor did not once attempt to annihilate the inferior forces of Sass, and relieve himself of this disagreeable escort, is one of the most enigmatical points in his tactics. It is said that he kept up negotiations during the march with Dembinski. On arriving at Gomor he was too weak to fight, and thenceforth nothing remained but to avoid a defeat. For this purpose he ordered Nagy Sandor to hold the positions before Gomor as long as possible, and then to turn aside toward Rosenau, draw the enemy after him, and keep the road to Putnok open to the main corps. Nagy Sandor obeyed these orders, fought with his Honveds before Gomor, engaged before Rosenau an enemy three times his superior in number, who continually imagined that Gorgey was before them, and at length with his battalions hunted to death, starving and decimated, reached the main army at Miskolcz.

If what this brave general declared to Kossuth is true, that here, as everywhere, Gorgey, out of mere hatred, purposely exposed him to danger, he had an opportunity at Miskolcz of taking a noble revenge. On his arrival before this town he found Gorgey engaged with Tscheodajeff. Already from afar the thunder of the heavy artillery fell on his ear, and with a last effort of his exhausted troops he pressed forward to the field of battle. Miskolcz was speedily evacuated by the Russians; Gorgey was enabled to take up the noblest positions from Onod to Zsolcza, to destroy the Sajo bridge, and protected by the stream, wood, and marsh, to undertake the defence of this line. Nagy Sandor and Poltenberg performed here prodigies of valour on the 25th, at the head of their Honveds; while Gorgey conducted the engagement with the whole power of his genius. The battle lasted from morning till late at night; Gorgey's superior tactics, and his keen perception in taking advantage of the natural features of the ground, saved him and his army from utter annihilation; and neither his officers nor the Russian generals that evening doubted, that he would at once force the passage of the Theiss at Tiszafured. Tscheodajeff im-

mediately made preparations to follow him; Grabbe had already marched from Losoncz, (which he had plundered and burnt down to revenge the murder of several Russian officers,) by the shortest route toward Tokay; but Gorgey, contrary to all the expectations both of friend and foe, crossed the Sajo and the Hernad, and gave his troops a day's rest at Gesztely. In this position Grabbe attacked him, and was driven back to Onod, (28th.) Another Russian column, ordered at the same time to advance toward Tokay, was likewise arrested in its march at the Hernad. The headquarters of the Russians were removed to Tiszafured, and Gorgey at length crossed the Theiss.

In following these movements, as here described, we cannot but admire the genius of the man who planned and executed them. His marches and counter-marches, north, south, and east, winding his way through by-roads in the mountains—his power of seizing at once upon favourable points, and the skill with which he took advantage of the mountain-streams, will immortalize Gorgey's retreat as one of the most masterly in the whole annals of warfare.

Dembinski and Meszaros, after having in vain waited for a junction with the army of the Danube, according to the general plan of operations, had retired slowly to Szegedin, and the corps of Visocky and Perczel alone remained at Czegled. Perczel still expected Gorgey's arrival, and this hope made him stay till the last moment.

Haynau had directed his march to Pesth, which he again left on finding that Gorgey had escaped him, and went in pursuit of his enemy into the heart of the country. Perczel and Visocky retired without delay by Kecskemet to Szegedin.

Kossuth arrived at Szegedin on the 12th of July, 1849, the other members of the government either accompanying or following him. We have lost sight of Kossuth in the preceding narrative of the most important events of the war. While the generals were the foremost actors on the scene, the power which created and organized the whole movement necessarily remained veiled in the background.

Kossuth at once displayed the powers of the agitator and the organizer. He drew up the plan of a crusade for the whole country, calling the nation to arms in a proclamation which for sublimity and power of style will remain as a model to future ages. He traversed the country, and by the most eloquent speeches awakened the greatest enthusiasm among the people. Cut off from Debreczin by the Russians, Kossuth and the government retired to Szegedin. The Diet met on the 21st of July. Affairs wore a gloomy front, but the government was not dispirited. Secret conferences were held to discuss the great question, how the hostile Slavish and Wallachian races might be won over to the Magyar cause. The result was the transference of the command-in-chief to Gorgey, (with the proviso that he should render at a future time an account of his conduct,) a declaration of the equal rights of all nationalities, and an amnesty to all who had borne arms against Hungary. (Sitting of the 28th.)

The appointment of Gorgey to the command-in-chief of all the armies was hailed with exultation by the people, who had the greatest confidence in his genius, and regarded him as invincible. Perczel alone openly opposed his nomination, and claimed for himself the post which was proposed for Gorgey. His violent temper carried him away, and betrayed him into the most intemperate threats and unjustifiable expressions; but in the end he yielded to the order of the minister of war, who even took from him the command of his corps, which he had in part himself raised, and transferred it to Visocky. Kossuth was at one time in Szegedin, at another with Dembinski and Visocky,—now in Arad conferring with Bem, and again in the council of the ministry; he appeared to have the gift of ubiquity, and at the same time redoubled his activity. Working incessantly to bring into efficiency the machinery of resistance, he yet forgot that the two chief springs of action had refused him service—the army of the Danube under Gorgey, and the banknote-press under the finance minister Duschek.

Duschek had formerly filled the post of imperial counsellor



Duschek.

in one of the offices of the Vienna ministry. Ever a decided imperialist, his joining Kossuth and his position in the revolutionary government, created a greater sensation in the circles of the Viennese aristocracy than the defection of many persons of higher station. He remained at Kossuth's side until the end of the war, slowly but surely counterworking all his measures, like his evil spirit, and offering every impediment to his operations silently but perseveringly. The consequence was, that want of money gradually spread discontent among the troops; Kossuth was besieged by all the generals for arrears of pay, and was unable to meet the demand.

While in this manner the difficulties and confusion daily increased in the Magyar camp, the Austrian generals pursued their plan of operations with irresistible rapidity. Nugent had hastened to the aid of the ban, in order to set his movements free; after the retreat of Dembinski and Visocky, Colonel Korponai with the landsturm, could not possibly longer prevent the passage of the Theiss. Paskiewitsch, after the unsuccessful attack of his generals Grabbe and Sacken on the remains of Gorgey's army, had started with the second and third corps from Csege for Debreczin; while the fourth secured the communication by Tokay and the tranquillity of the mining districts. Haynau marched toward Szegedin, leaving before Komorn a small investing corps under Csorich.

Haynau had not yet arrived there, when from the west he received the news of an event, which spread excitement and apprehension throughout the whole monarchy. Komorn had once more set in motion her formidable arms; Klapka had on the 3d of August made a grand sortie, which threw into the hands of the garrison the Schutt Island and the shore of the Danube as far as Hochstrass and Wieselburg. With twenty-four fieldpieces, eight thousand infantry, and four divisions of hussars, he outflanked Barko's position, attacked the widely-extended investing troops at Mocsa, Puszta Herkaly, and Puszta Chem, and drove them with immense loss through Puszta Lovad in the direction of Raab. At the same time he ordered an attack to be made on the Austrians on the Schutt Island, in which they lost the whole of their baggage and all their guns, repulsed the enemy on the left bank to Szered, and on the 4th occupied Raab, and threatened Wieselburg, Pressburg, and the frontier.

Besides the enemy's loss of a great number of men, with their whole park of artillery, the garrison captured at Acs twenty-seven hundred and sixty head of oxen, five boats laden with corn and powder, five hundred thousand cwt. of flour, and forty thousand uniforms.

The terror of this expedition, which was more than a mere

sortie, spread to Vienna with the rapidity of lightning. Austrian and Russian fugitives (many only in their night-dress) had fled to Pressburg, carrying the news of the general's carelessness in face of a fortress so manned and provided as Komorn. The Vienna fauxbourgs, the birthplace and cradle of Austrian democracy, were already making secret preparations for the reception of the Hungarians, by whom they hoped to be freed from the state of siege and courts-martial. In many houses of the nobility, all was in readiness for flight; Haynau himself was alarmed, and ordered a strong column of his army back to Pesth.

But Klapka had set a limit to his enterprise, which, as a general under command, and responsible for the safety of Komorn, he considered himself not justified in exceeding. Among his officers, indeed, there were not a few who longed boldly to march upon Vienna—a step which, from the position of the Austrians at that time, would have been attended with no great risk; but Klapka set his face against any such proposal. “It was neither his wish, nor within the scope of his orders, to undertake romantic campaigns.”

Komorn received its newly-gained booty, and wrapped itself once more in the grandeur of silence. Klapka's expedition was the last bright ray of fortune for Hungary,—the last flicker of heroic resistance before its entire extinction.

Kossuth was resolved to hold possession of Szegedin. On the evening of his arrival, thousands had assembled in the great square under his balcony by torchlight and moonlight, and there sworn to fight to the last. The Theiss in the west, and the troops of Dembinski, Visocky, Vetter, and Guyon, together with the enthusiastic population of Szegedin, appeared to him strong enough to defend the intrenchments, which surround the city in a semicircle on the east.

On the 29th of July, Guyon, according to the orders he had received, arrived at Szegedin with his victorious corps from the south. Ten battalions, consisting of eight thousand men, all good and tried soldiers, defiled before Kossuth in the market-place,—the same troops who had defeated the ban

at Hegyes and driven him back to Titel. The eighth battalion, which had distinguished itself pre-eminently on that occasion, was addressed by Kossuth, and its standard decorated with the order of merit of the third class: these troops, reinforced by five thousand newly-organized levies, took up their position in the intrenchments. With this force, the whole army amounted to thirty-four thousand men; the national guards had been obliged to deliver up their arms, and were on this account imbittered against the government; having in their first engagements with the Serbs shown that they could make a good use of them. But, since it had been resolved to abandon the city after a short resistance, it was necessary to save the arms of the citizens from the enemy's hands, and store them in safety for future struggles.

On the 1st of August the members of the diet quitted the town, from whose towers the Austrian outposts were distinctly visible. The banknote-press had been previously transported to Arad. On the same day the entire Hungarian army crossed the Theiss on four pontoon-bridges, and occupied New Szegedin on the farther shore, to oppose the passage of the river by the Austrians. Haynau, who had already removed his headquarters beyond Felegyhaza, and burnt down Csongrad, whose inhabitants had taken up arms, found to his no small astonishment the intrenchments deserted. Szegedin, which to all appearance should have proved a second Saragossa, was occupied by the Austrians without a blow.

Gorgey had divided his army at Nyiregyhaza. Nagy Sandor was ordered to advance to Debreczin by forced marches, with a view to reach that town before the Russians, and keep them occupied as long as possible: the other troops were despatched to Nagy Kalto, Vamos Pirts, and Kis Maria, with orders to advance from these positions southward. Gorgey knew that the Russian main army had crossed the Theiss without opposition, and was obliged to keep to the left, in order to avoid a dangerous encounter. A remarkable circumstance likewise, which must not be forgotten, was, that during the whole of his memorable retreat Gorgey continued



to receive accurate information of the enemy's positions; while the Russians, by the admission of the commander-in-chief, in the genuine Magyar counties on the Theiss, were unable to obtain a single trustworthy spy.

Dembinski had advanced with his whole forces to Tiszafured and Csege, but delayed from motives of prudence to penetrate farther into the great Hungarian plain. The left flank of his army was covered by the extensive marshes of Margita, bordered by tobacco-plantations, which, alternating with thickets of gigantic reeds, form the principal vegetation of this part of the country; on his right lay the outskirts of the immense Hortobagy morass, behind him the Theiss, before him the wide plain, the district of the Magyar Haiduck-towns and the Debreczin heath. He sent troops to reconnoitre the country for miles around, and gain authentic information of the enemy's position; but the Hungarians were nowhere to be seen, and the headquarters were therefore advanced to Uj-Varos, (1st of August.) The Russian main army still numbered sixty thousand men, notwithstanding that Grabbe stayed behind to watch the mining districts, and a second column remained at Szolnok under Colonel Chrulew to facilitate General Benedek's passage of the Theiss. This powerful army was set in motion on the 2d of August from Uj-Naros to Debreczin. The maize has at this season of the year attained its full growth; while on the lower part of the stem the female flower-bud is already metamorphosed into the fruit-bud, the light yellow male blossoms still crown the plant with their full tufts, giving to the country around the monotonous, tawny aspect of a desert. In a gentle breeze the plain has all the appearance of a yellow sea, while the thick plantations shut out any distant view. A body of troops wishing to turn out of the beaten path, to the right or left, would be obliged to cut their way through the maize fields, as through the tangled and luxuriant vegetation in tropical forests. These plantations, although consisting of such fragile single plants, can thus be used as places of concealment and for other strategical purposes, where extending



Paskiewitsch.

over a large tract of country. On one occasion, the Serbs in the Bacska took advantage of them in war with as much skill and dexterity as the Indians exhibit when fighting in the primeval forests of the New World. The Hungarian gene-



Nagy Sandor at the battle near Debreczin.

als had taken a lesson from the Serbs ; and Nagy Sandor, on whom the forlorn task had devolved of holding an open town with eight thousand men against an army of eighty thousand, turned the maize plantations to the greatest advantage. His outposts were stationed immediately in front of the town, behind garden-hedges, ditches, and barricades of trees, in such a manner that four squadrons and two cannon only were visible. The Russian cavalry were prevented by the maize-fields from operating *en masse*, and their attempt to outflank the advanced posts of Nagy Sandor was repulsed by the masked Honved artillery. The prince himself in his bulletin mentions in terms of praise the masterly serving of the enemy's batteries, which could not be forced from their positions without considerable loss. For this purpose he ordered four batteries under General Gillenschmitt to advance against the enemy's left wing ; and as soon as the heavy artillery of the Hungarians began to open its fire on this side, four Russian brigades in full battle array, and covered by

Cossacks and Mussulmen, marched upon the town for a general attack. Nagy Sandor was to be seen wherever the danger was greatest; he repeatedly sent couriers to Gorgey, who was with his army only thirteen miles from the field of battle, imploring him to advance as rapidly as possible. The Russian columns were so much divided, that Gorgey's arrival might still have rendered the victory doubtful. But to all appearance, on the left bank of the Theiss, the negotiations between Gorgey and Paskiewitsch had already assumed a decisive character; Gorgey did not stir, but with laconic brevity and coldness merely reminded the brave Nagy Sandor of the orders he had received to evacuate Debreczin after an attempt at resistance.

In consequence of this conduct, no alternative remained to Nagy Sandor. The hussars, attacked in front and flank, galloped back into the streets of the town in disorderly flight, followed by the Honveds in the utmost confusion. Nagy Sandor succeeded in arresting their flight, and led his battalions in good order out of the town; they were considerably thinned, and on their retreat suffered still further loss, while four pieces of heavy artillery, with a large store of ammunition and baggage were left behind. The prince entered Debreczin on the evening of the same day, accompanied by the Grand-duke Constantine, who had shared in the engagement. On the approach of night the Cossacks relinquished the pursuit of the Hungarians, and encamped before the town, which had witnessed the most decided victory the Russians had obtained over the Magyars (a disproportionately small force indeed) during the whole campaign.

If—as is not improbable—Gorgey, even after the battle on the Hernad, had still clung to the idea of effecting a junction with the other corps at the decisive moment, to prove the superiority of his talents and the importance of his service at such a crisis, to save Hungary by a great battle, and at the same time to annihilate Kossuth and his party,—if it is true, that *before* the passage of the Theiss he had still indulged in such illusions, these must surely have vanished,

when he sent Nagy Sandor from Nyiregy-Haza to Debreczin, when he remained inactive after the former had entreated his aid, and when at last for want of succour the corps of this brave general fled weakened and dispirited to Grosswardein. Gorgey himself passed Debreczin by a circuitous route east of the town; the only road open to him was that to the south, for Grotjenhelm and Luders had already made their appearance on the western outlets of Transylvania. Necessity compelled him to draw near to the other Magyar generals; the enemy showed to him the road, which duty had from the first vainly pointed out to him, and thus he united before Grosswardein with the unfortunate remains of Nagy Sandor's corps, to take the road to Arad. On the 7th Rudiger occupied Grosswardein, the gigantic storehouse of the Hungarians, and followed in Gorgey's footsteps, evidently less with the object of annihilating than observing him, and of being in readiness for battle as soon as the expected moment of inevitable surrender arrived.

In and around Szegedin, in face of the ancient town on the left shore of the Theiss, where a year before the Serbs suffered a sanguinary repulse from the national guards, stood the Hungarian forces, which after the dispersion of the Danube army had the honour of being named the main army, under Dembinski, Meszaros, Guyon, Visocky, Dessewffy, and Kmetty. One division only remained behind to oppose the passage of the Austrians; the rest encamped on the Maros between St. Ivany and Szorgen. The commander-in-chief of the Austrian army allowed his troops but a short rest, and then ordered General Prince Lichstenstein to attack New Szegedin. Two bridges were thrown across the river in the face of the enemy's batteries, but these were destroyed, with all the brave men who had ventured upon them to gain the opposite shore. The yellow, muddy water of the Theiss, scarcely ever fit for drink, was dyed red with the blood of the killed, and for a great distance, even beyond Szenta, no dog would quench his thirst in those waters. The Ramberg corps at Kanisza, who saw with horror the dead bodies of their

brethren floating slowly down the stream, crossed the river after a slight skirmish; the Austrian main army took possession of New Szegedin, which was evacuated by Dembinski's rearguard; the ban was pressing forward from the south, joined by Nugent, while the Russian army was advancing from the north. The battle at Szoregh (5th of August) was obstinately and desperately fought, but lost by the Hungarians. Dembinski commanded the right wing, Gaal and Kmetty the left, Guyon the centre. Couriers were incessantly flying to and fro between Arad, whither Kossuth had withdrawn with a part of the House of Representatives, and Szoregh, the headquarters of Dembinski. Ere long, on the same road, the Hungarian army was seen flying in the utmost confusion, routed, dispirited, scattered in all directions, no longer subject to any command.

The reverses of the Hungarians in this great war were rapid and fearful. Unfortunately, Dembinski was wounded in the shoulder by a shot; he fell from his horse, and was carried into a peasant's cottage; for twenty-four hours the Hungarian army was without a commander. On the 6th of August, Mako was in the power of the imperialists, and thus the line of the Maros was forced. A retreat was inevitable, and Dembinski took the direction of Temesvar, which place was still besieged by Vecksey. Kossuth reproaches the Polish general severely for having marched to Temesvar instead of Arad.

Whether Kossuth's reproach to Dembinski for his retreat to Temesvar (in which others have joined) is well-founded or not, it must be recollected that the Polish general in his operations could in no degree calculate on any junction with Gorgey, who, to judge from every circumstance and appearance, took all means of avoiding one. That Dembinski *has been* a great general, is a fact admitted by his most inveterate enemies. The news of Dembinski's defeat at Szoregh reached Kossuth at Arad. He was sitting, lost in meditation, on a wooden bench in a miserable apartment of the fortress, which everywhere bore traces of the recent bombardment, when a

courier brought him the intelligence. Fugitives had already spread the news through the town, and in the streets, where thousands of wagons stood drawn up. The most fearful confusion now arose: civil officers, private families, soldiers, women, children, camp-purveyors, were all rushing helter-skelter, endeavouring to escape from the threatened town. The banknote-press was removed to Lugos, the only place, in Kossuth's opinion, where it could be protected in the rear by Bem, and in front by Vecsey, who was besieging Temesvar. At length, on the 8th of August, the long-expected first columns of Gorgey's army arrived before Arad. Nagy Sandor, who commanded them, received from Kossuth the order to march on the 9th at daybreak, to take Vinga, and secure the communication with Temesvar; but the troops were worn out by long marches, and dispirited by their heavy losses; they suffered a discomfiture at Dreispitz and retreated to Arad, before which fortress Gorgey had arrived the same day with the remains of his once splendid army. He yielded an apparent assent to Kossuth's plans, and made all necessary arrangements on the 11th of August with his whole forces to free the road to Temesvar. But the same night arrived the disastrous news of the loss of the battle at Temesvar, in which Bem held a joint command, after having quitted Transylvania on the summons from Kossuth to take the command-in-chief of all the troops.

Temesvar is a strong fortress, and contained within its walls an heroic garrison. Lieutenant-fieldmarshal Rukowina, who held the command, defended every point of the town, resolutely refusing all summons to surrender, until the roofs were fired over his soldiers' heads and the walls fell in ruins. When the Fabrik-faubourg was actually stormed and carried by the Honveds, he withdrew like a hunted badger into his furthest retreat, the proper fortress. Typhus and intermittent fever, cholera and want, shook the courage of the old warrior as little as the red-hot balls of Vecsey, who conducted the siege of the fortress. He remarked that the time for surrender would not arrive until his soldiers had gnawed the

last skeleton of their horses, or "when the handkerchief in his coat-pocket should be set on fire." The brave old warrior did not hold out in vain: the garrison of Temesvar had the happiness of opening her gates to their brethren-in-arms. In face of the fortress, at Kis-Becskerek, the last decisive battle was fought; for a long time the fortune of the day remained undecided, at last it turned in favour of the Austrians.

Haynau's right wing was already repulsed, after the reserve-artillery and the Paniutin division had in vain been brought on the scene of action, and the left wing was in danger of being outflanked by a strong detachment of hussars, concealed in the thickets and woods. Bem, who had committed the command of his Transylvanian troops to another general, and hastened *via* Lugos to Temesvar, to assume the command-in-chief, considered his enemy as already firmly in his power, and hoped to crush him at once, while the Austrian central columns vainly sacrificed their lives before the batteries which Bem, taking skilful advantage of the ground, had opposed to their progress. But at the critical moment in the battle, Prince Lichtenstein appeared with his corps from Hodos, whence he had pursued the fugitive Honveds; while Schlik, advancing from Mezohegyes, was seen advancing at Vinga. The fate of the battle was now decided; Lichtenstein brought a strong reinforcement to the repulsed wing of the Austrians, caused them to rally, and after a short pause led them on to the attack.

The hussars were thrown into confusion by the shock, and Bem broke a collar-bone by a fall from his horse, over which he had for some time lost sufficient control, covered as he was with wounds. The confusion into which the Hungarians were thrown led to their dispersion and flight, such as Hungary had never before witnessed. Lichtenstein's timely appearance on the field of battle and Gorgey's non-appearance were the causes that lost to Bem a victory he had so nearly gained.

The immediate result of the loss of this battle was the relief of Temesvar. Haynau had the satisfaction of being the



first who, in the evening of that same day, (August 10th,) entered the gates of the fortress at the head of some squadrons. The place was crowded with sick and wounded; its outward appearance, and that of its defenders, showed that both had reached the extreme point, when defence was no longer possible.

The morning sun of the 11th of August gilded the towers of two fortresses, distant only a few miles; it shone upon two scenes which wore a remarkable contrast. In Temesvar, the poor half-starved Austrians crowded joyfully around their brethren and guests; in Arad, the Hungarians stood gathered in mournful groups, their hearts heavy with despair and melancholy forebodings. On the one side, columns of troops, their friends and allies, entered the relieved fortress, amid joyous songs and warlike music; on the other, all who were able fled out of the gloomy gates. In Temesvar, the Austrian generals, elated with victory, embraced one another; in Arad, Kossuth and Gorgey stood at a bow-window in a small chamber of the fortress—met once more after so long a separation—to part for ever.

What passed in those hours between them—their mutual reproaches and explanations—we know not; whether Gorgey's guilty conscience cowered before the glance of the governor, we can only conjecture; this alone we know, that Gorgey crossed the threshold of that apartment first into the open air, as dictator—Kossuth following him, a hopeless exile.

Kossuth had all along governed in unison with the majority of the National Assembly; he resigned his power when he believed Gorgey to be the only man capable of saving the country. Kossuth turned his steps southward, Gorgey to the north. This was not the first time that the paths of these men led in opposite directions. The new dictator, on the evening of the 11th of August, after being defeated by the weaker corps of Schlik at New Arad, had marched his troops across the Maros back to Old Arad. From this place he announced to the Russian general his de-

termination to surrender, together with the miserable conditions he demanded, and the place where he proposed to carry the act into execution. On the 12th, he marched toward Szollos, where Rudiger arrived on the 13th, according to appointment. The act of laying down their arms by the Hungarians took place on the fields between Kiss-Jeno and Szollos, and this act will be designated in history as the surrender of Vilagos.

The events which took place in Hungary after the catastrophe of Vilagos formed the last convulsive struggle, that desperate strain of every nerve, which immediately preceded the fall of this heroic nation. The remains of the army of the Theiss separated at Lunos, where the semi-Wallachian population had buried in the earth their stores of corn, to withhold them from the starving fugitives. Bem, now commander-in-chief, could only prevail on a portion of his army to continue the war; the greater number of troops followed Gorgey's call to the north, whither he summoned them "to unite with the Russians."

At Facset the army separated. Vecsey's corps, which was still a fine body of troops, and in the greatest strength, as it had taken no part in the battle of Temesvar, marched along the Maros to meet its fate, accompanied by the remains of other divisions. At Soborsin his whole train of artillery was captured; and on the 19th of August he surrendered to the Russians. Bem and Guyon directed their march toward Transylvania; but the Austrian main army pressed them on all sides, and old Dembinski declared to his countryman Bem, that under these circumstances he was no longer able to continue the struggle. Kmetty alone, with about four thousand men, encountered the tenfold superior forces of the Austrians, in and before Lugos, to cover the road to the south; with his brave troops he arrested the enemy's march for more than half a day, and then sought refuge in Turkey by way of Mehadia. Bem and Guyon advanced as far as Dobra with their corps, which then dispersed in all directions into the mountains. The generals remained alone, and there bade

farewell to a country endeared to them by so many recollections, (17th of August.)

In Transylvania the Szeklers continued to fight with desperation, defeated the Austrian General Urban at Banffy-Hunyad, and ultimately surrendered to the Russians at Sibó. Lazar, who remained at Deva with his troops, laid down his arms to General Simbschen.

Damianich, in compliance with Gorgey's direction, surrendered Arad unconditionally to General Rudiger; entertaining the firm belief, that now, for the first time, and in alliance with Russia, the real war was to commence. Munkacs capitulated to the Russians on the 26th of August. Peterwardein opened her gates to the Austrians on the 7th of September.

Komorn alone proudly and resolutely rejected every summons for unconditional surrender. Klapka's messengers traversed the country, with a view to obtain correct information on the state of affairs. Fugitive Honveds, single horsemen who had escaped from the enemy, wan and haggard soldiers, brought the news of what had taken place. The black-yellow flags waving upon the ramparts of all the other fortresses, the pale look of despair in every Magyar's face, confirmed the truth of these accounts. Komorn capitulated, under favourable conditions, on the 27th of September.

In Hungary, Klapka has been reproached by many for not including, in the terms of surrender, articles which might have secured the political existence of the country; but this reproach vanishes, when we learn the mean, haggling conduct of the Austrian generals, from whom Klapka had to fight inch by inch for every point he obtained.

Kossuth, Dembinski, Bem, Perczel, Casimir Batthyanyi, Szemere, Kmetty, Guyon, Visocki, Vetter, and Meszaros fled to Turkey, where their residence or extradition was made a question of political debate by the European powers. The finance minister, Duschek, resides undisturbed in Austria, having successfully laboured in her interest. Casimir Batthyanyi, who only a few days before the final catastrophe had



Count Casimir Batthyanyi.

advanced to Duschek out of his own pocket the sum of ten thousand florins in Austrian banknotes, vainly entreated him to return to him his money: the finance minister was inexorable, and delivered it over to Austria, together with the other funds in his hands. Horvath and Vukovich fortunately escaped to Paris.

In Bem there was no wavering or hesitation: his inflexible mind was a stranger to all by-paths, on which men of a less firm character often stand, irresolute and doubtful what course to pursue. Bem's guide through life was hatred of Russia, —this was his pillar of cloud by day and his pillar of fire by

night. To this hatred, rooted in his very soul, he has a thousand times offered to sacrifice his life, and at last his Christian belief. Dembinski, who on his departure from Paris declared, that his object in going to Hungary was to win by the sword a point of union between his own country and the South-Slaves, has always remained a Pole, and fought on the Theiss for his brethren on the Vistula.

On the 6th of October, thirteen generals and staff-officers were executed. Four of these heroic men met their end at daybreak, the commutation of their sentence to "powder and lead" exempting them from the anguish of witnessing the death of their companions in arms. Among the rest was Ernest Kiss. His friends at Vienna had interceded to save his life, but in vain. He died a painful death: the Austrian soldiers who were ordered to carry the sentence into effect, and who for a whole year had faced the fire of the Hungarian artillery, trembled before their defenceless victim: three separate volleys were fired before Kiss fell—his death-struggles lasted full ten minutes.

The report of the firing was heard in the castle, where those officers sentenced to be hanged were preparing for death. Poltenberg had been in a profound sleep, and startled, as he told the Austrian officer, by the first volley, he had jumped out of bed. The unhappy man had been dreaming that he was in face of the enemy, and heard the firing of alarm signals at his outposts—it was the summons from the grave.

At six o'clock in the morning the condemned officers were led to the place of execution. Old Aulich died first: he was the most advanced in years, and the court-martial seemed thus to respect the natural privilege of age. Distinguished by his zeal and efforts in the cause of his country more than by the success which attended them, Aulich was inferior to many of his comrades in point of talent; but in uprightness and strength of character none surpassed him.

Count Leiningen was the third in succession, and the youngest. An opportunity had been offered him, late on the

preceding evening, of escaping by flight; but he would not separate his fate from that of his brother-in-law, who was a prisoner in the fortress. His youth, perhaps, inspired him with a desire of giving to his elder companions in sorrow around him an example of heroic stoicism in death; and, on reaching the place of execution, he exclaimed, with melancholy humour, "They ought at least to have treated us to a breakfast!" One of the guard of soldiers compassionately handed him his wine-flask. "Thank you, my friend," said the young general, "I want no wine to give me courage,—bring me a glass of water." He then wrote on his knee with a pencil the following farewell words to his brother-in-law: "The shots which this morning laid my poor comrades low still resound in my ears, and before me hangs the body of Aulich on the gallows. In this solemn moment, when I must prepare to appear before my Creator, I once more protest against the charge of cruelty at the taking of Buda which an infamous slanderer has raised against me. On the contrary, I have on all occasions protected the Austrian prisoners. I commend to you my poor Liska and my two children. I die for a cause which has always appeared to me just and holy. If in happier days my friends ever desire to avenge my death, let them reflect that humanity is the best political wisdom. As for" . . . here the hangman interrupted him: it was time to die.

Torok, Lahner, Poltenberg, Nagy Sandor, Knezich, died one after the other. Vecsey was the last; perhaps they wished, by this ninefold aggravation of his torment, to make him suffer for the destruction caused by *his* cannon at Temesvar. Damianich preceded him. The usual dark colour of his large features was heightened by rage and impatience. His view had never extended farther than the glittering point of his heavy sabre; this was the star which he had followed throughout life; but now he saw whither it had conducted him, and impatiently he exclaimed, when limping up to the gallows, "Why is it that I, who have always been foremost to face the enemy's fire, must here be the last?" The de-



Hungarian patriots in prison.

liberate slowness of the work of butchery, seemed to disconcert him more than the approach of death, which he had defied in a hundred battles.

This terrible scene lasted from six until nine o'clock. Nine gibbets stood in a line; for all, there were only one hangman and two assistants. All the victims died with the calmness and composure worthy of brave but conquered soldiers, without a trace of cowardice, without a sign of that enthusiasm which they had sufficiently manifested in life; they could well afford to disdain any outward expression of it in the face of death. But in Aulich's eyes shone forth the spirit of the martyr for freedom: Damianich's features wore an expression of rage; in Leiningen's eyes glistened a tear, at parting with life so young and prematurely.

Count Louis Batthyanyi the former president of the Hungarian ministry, was sentenced to terminate his career upon the gallows, on the same day at Pesth. The fate of this gal-



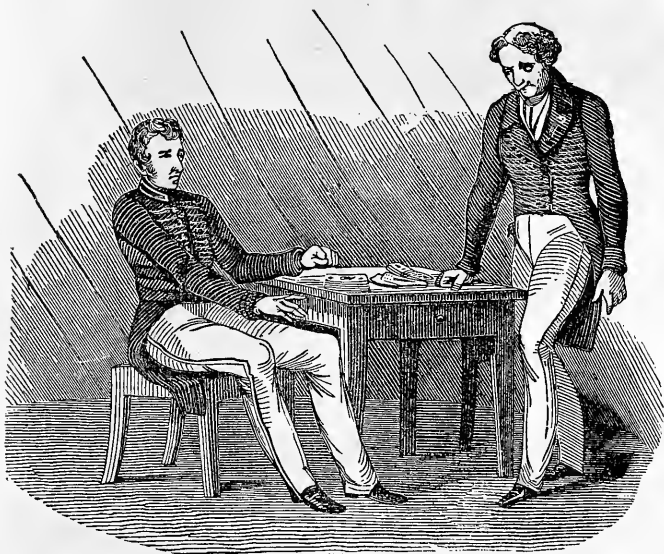
Count Louis Batthyanyi.

lant nobleman excited great sympathy throughout the civilized world. The more important persons who were executed besides those we have mentioned were, Prince Woronieczzy, Peter Giron, Charles Abancourt, Baron Perenyi, Emerich Scaervay, Csernyus, Louis Csanyi, Baron Jessenek, and Louis Karinozy. Such were the terrible results of Gorgey's ambi-



tion and treachery. The traitor restored peace to his country, according to his boast; but it was the silence of the prison and the grave.

The heroic Hungarians lay at the feet of the savage Haynau. No measures calculated to make them feel their defeat were neglected. Their lives and property were sacrificed to gratify a fiendish desire for revenge. Their conquerors had no appreciation of their valour and conduct; for, certainly, a nobler struggle for freedom was never maintained.



Kossuth sitting at the table with Görgey.



Victoria.

## CHAPTER VII.

## LIBERAL MOVEMENTS IN GREAT BRITAIN.

ATTEMPTS were made in England and Ireland to imitate the revolutionary movements on the Continent; but the failure in both instances was total and lamentable. The power of the British government was quietly but vigorously exerted, and a growl from the old lion was a death-blow to the hopes of the radicals.

The 10th of April, 1848, was fixed upon for holding a great meeting upon Kennington Common, whence two hundred thousand men were to march to Westminster, present a petition

to Parliament for the Charter, and "wait for an answer." The intention was obviously to effect a revolution by the summary process which had prevailed in most of the capitals of Europe; and it was confidently predicted by the orators of the Chartist Convention, then sitting in London, that the Charter would be the law of the land before bedtime on the 10th of April. But their leader, Fergus O'Connor, was not fitted for his post, and no man possessing the ability and the daring energy of a revolutionary leader appeared. The masses, whose only avenue to representation in parliament was plain force, were doomed to disappointment for want of a head.

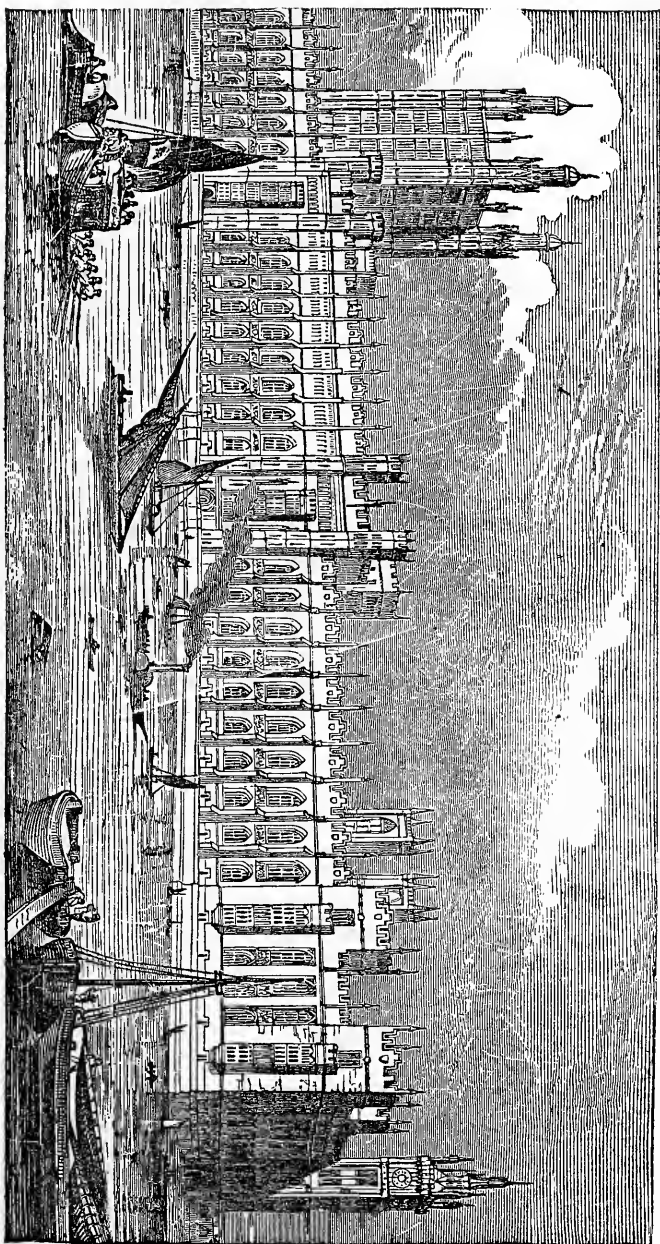
The preventive measures of government, devised and personally worked by the Duke of Wellington, were on a large and complete scale, though so arranged as not to obtrude themselves needlessly on the view. The Thames bridges were the main points of concentration; bodies of foot and horse police, and assistant masses of special constables, being posted at their approaches on either side. In the immediate neighbourhood of each of them, within call, a strong force of military was kept ready for instant movement. Two regiments of the line were kept in hand at Milbank Penitentiary; twelve hundred infantry at Deptford dockyard, and thirty pieces of heavy field-ordnance at the Tower, all ready for transport by hired steamers, to any spot where serious business might threaten. At other places also bodies of troops were posted, out of sight, but within sudden command.

In addition to the regular civil and military force, it is credibly estimated that at least one hundred and fifty thousand special constables were sworn and organized throughout the metropolis, for the stationary defence of their own districts, or as movable bodies to co-operate with the soldiery and police. On the other hand, the muster on the Common fell far short of the grand number predicted. The whole gathering did not exceed twenty thousand, one-half of whom were spectators, led to the spot by mere curiosity. The Chartists submitted quietly to their defeat; the detached rolls

of their monster petition were despatched in hackney-cabs to Westminster; the crowd broke up; and after some slight combating, in which no serious casualty occurred, it was manœuvred into detailed masses and quietly dispersed; and the day of intended revolution ended in a gossiping wonderment.

Two months afterward the leaders of the violent section of the Chartists began again to trouble the public peace. Numerous riots, some of them attended with loss of life, took place in Scotland and in the midland counties of England; and open-air meetings were held in the metropolis, in which language of the most incendiary kind was uttered by Messrs. Ernest Jones, Williams, Sharpe, Vernon, Looney, and Fustell, the last of whom strenuously recommended the expedient of private assassination. They were all brought to trial for these offences, convicted, and sentenced to two years' imprisonment, and to find recognisances for their future good behaviour. Subsequently, the police detected a widely-ramified conspiracy to effect a simultaneous rising in London, Manchester, and other towns, and to burn, slay, and pillage in all directions. Cuffay, Lacey, and Fay, the metropolitan ring-leaders, were transported for life, and a great number of the other conspirators were subjected to various degrees of punishment.

The Irish rebellion, heralded by far more boisterous and truculent boastings than the Chartist plot, failed still more ignominiously. Newspapers had been founded for the avowed purpose of openly preaching treason, and teaching the art of street-fighting, with the most ingenious devices for maiming and torturing troops by means of vitriol, bottles turned into handgrenades, and other missiles. War-clubs were everywhere established, whole cargoes of fire-arms were imported and sold by auction in the fairs and markets, all the smiths in Ireland were at work, night and day, manufacturing pikes, and nothing less was talked of than a levy *en masse* of the Celtic population to exterminate the Saxon intruders. Mr. Smith O'Brien, Mr. Meagher, and Mr. O'Gorman went to Paris to solicit French aid. On the third of April, they



The new Houses of Parliament, London.

waited on Lamartine with congratulatory addresses from various bodies of Irish, but received from the foreign minister of the Republic a reply that effectually extinguished all their hopes of support from that quarter. Returning to Ireland, Messrs. O'Brien and Meagher were in the following month tried for sedition; but the juries would not agree to a verdict in either case. Mr. Mitchell, the editor of the famous war-journal, the *Nation*, was not so fortunate; he was found guilty, and shipped off to Bermuda, under sentence of fourteen years' transportation.

Still the confederates continued their sanguinary ravings, and the preparations for rebellion went on with unabated activity, Lord Clarendon calmly and steadily watching the conspirators, and noiselessly providing means to defeat their plans. The legislature had strengthened his hands by an act suspending the right of habeas corpus in Ireland, and by other enactments suited to the state of a country on the eve of a rebellion. At last the leaders of the Irish Confederation took the field. Messrs. O'Brien, Doheny, Meagher, and Dillon, the two former dressed in gorgeous uniforms, threw themselves among the colliers of Tipperary, and summoned them to the destruction of the infamous old English empire. A single battle began and ended the campaign. On Saturday, July 29, Mr. O'Brien and some thousands of his followers were ignominiously beaten by less than fifty policemen, who had posted themselves in the widow M'Cormack's house at Boulough. Seven of the insurgents were killed, and many wounded; and so ended the Irish Rebellion of 1848, crushed at a blow, and without the aid of one soldier of the line, by a small party of the same creed, race, and station as the rebels themselves. O'Brien, Meagher, M'Manus, and O'Donohue, fell into the hands of the authorities, were tried at Clonmel, and were sentenced, on the 9th of October, to death for high treason. A writ of error was entered for each of the convicts; and while it was pending it became known that in any event the Government would not enforce the full sentence of

the law. At length the sentence was commuted to transportation for life to Van Dieman's land.

The parliamentary session which began on the 18th of November, 1847, and terminated on the 5th of September, 1848, was one of unexampled length, but of little practical efficacy. Its chief produce was a set of coercive and penal acts for the better enabling of the executive to curb disaffection, but the list of its enactments tending to any positive improvement was so brief as to be almost nugatory. Parliament was summoned at an unusually early period to consider and counteract the commercial distress that so heavily affected the country; but the violence of the crisis was over before members could come together, and the proposed inquiry was dropped, the country was left to take its chance of another panic, and nothing was done to secure a permanently safer condition of commercial affairs. The case was just the same with every other great question that was pressed upon the consideration of the legislature: in all but two or three instances of no great moment, the decision was postponed to the next session.





Louis Napoleon.

## CHAPTER VIII.

FRENCH MOVEMENTS—FROM THE SIEGE OF ROME TO  
PRESIDENT BONAPARTE'S COUP D'ETAT.

A FEW days after the reception of the news of the repulse of Oudinot, at Rome, a fearful insurrection broke out in the principal cities of France. In Paris it was suppressed without much difficulty; but in Lyons it threatened for a while to overthrow the government. On the 15th, a large body of men, carrying red flags, marched through the city, shouting against the republic. After endeavouring to unite with some infantry they proceeded toward Limonest, disarming, in their way, some isolated posts. Then returning to Lyons, they



captured some military stations, making prisoners of a portion of the garrison, and inducing the remainder to join them. From these places they hurried to the Croix Rousse, the population of which received them with enthusiasm. At half-past ten they appeared before the bridge which connects the latter place with the city proper, and demanded a free passage. The commanding officer replied in an evasive manner; the insurgents shouted incessantly, "Long live the Line!" for the purpose of inducing the soldiers to join them. The officer commanded them to retire; he approached, exclaiming that the troops were on their side. The soldiers were then ordered to fire, at which more than a dozen of the rioters fell wounded, the remainder flying in every direction.

The firing was the signal for a general commotion throughout the city. The insurgents rallied, bells were rung, arms of all kinds were demanded, and barricades were erected in several streets. Some firing was heard at intervals until two o'clock, when the authorities, having completed their arrangements for a vigorous restoration of order, pushed a column of infantry, numbering twenty-five hundred men, with eight cannon, against the principal defences of the insurgents. When the commanding general, Magnan, arrived at the height between Lyons and the Croix Rousse, he briefly exhorted his soldiers to do their duty. They answered by cries of "Long live the Republic!" The attack commenced by the cannon playing on each barricade, after which the soldiers rushed forward with the bayonet. At this moment the soldiers placed in front of the barricades the prisoners whom they had taken, at the same time aiming from behind them. At first the resistance was spirited; but at length the insurgents were heard to cry that they had been deceived, and that the army was not with them. At five o'clock they had been driven from the barricades, and the severe fire kept up from the windows of houses was suppressed.

While General Magnan was executing this attack in front, a battalion of infantry with six pieces arrived by another road, thus cutting off the retreat of the insurgents, and ren-

dering further resistance useless. At the same time several barricades were captured at the Croix Rousse; and an attempt of the insurgents to seize the church of St. Polycarp was frustrated by the vigilance of a band of infantry. At night, order had been restored. In the various skirmishes of the day, one hundred and fifty of the insurgents were killed, and eight hundred wounded. The military lost in all about sixty. The city was placed under military guard until morning. The bridges were guarded by artillery and cavalry; companies were placed at the corners of the streets; and all the barricades were garrisoned. Quiet was fully restored, and the city soon resumed its wonted appearance. Twelve hundred persons, it is affirmed, is a small estimate of the number captured on this day and succeeding ones, in Lyons alone. The number concerned in the insurrection is variously estimated from ten to twenty-five thousand.

From the different accounts of this insurrection, it seems evident that, for some time previous to its occurrence, an organized conspiracy, whose object was the overthrow of the government, existed throughout France. Of this movement, Ledru Rollin, Felix Pyat, and a few others, were the master spirits. It was boldly proclaimed in the Assembly, that a strong demonstration was in preparation, while out of doors the threats and exclamations were still more violent. The club organized from the Mountain, to take cognisance of all the legislative proceedings and executive measures, denounced all branches of the government as traitorous, and, in form, outlawed the president and his officers.

The pretext for the movement was the French intervention at Rome. Ledru Rollin had already proposed the immediate impeachment of Louis Napoleon and his ministers, threatening that if not gratified his party would resort to arms. Thus warned, the ministry prepared for resistance. Troops were placed under General Changarnier; and when the Mountain endeavoured to carry their measures by violence, the government speedily suppressed the out-door tumult, and arrested some of the rioters. According to an influential

journal, the conspirators meditated the establishment of the "Democratic and Social Republic." The president, the minister, a majority of the Assembly were to be outlawed; a proscription list was prepared; war was to be declared against Russia and Austria; while plundering and confiscation were to be the order of the day. Among the various documents seized by government, was a list naming the officers of the Social Republic. Ledru Rollin was to be dictator, with the right of life and death over every French citizen; Felix Pyat, Minister of the Interior; an ignorant sergeant named Boichat, Minister of War; and Sergeant Rattier, General-in-chief of the armed forces, with dictatorial right of election.

The movement however was a miserable blunder—premature, badly managed, destitute of principle. The call to arms found no echo; and the troops, with insignificant exceptions, rallied around the government at the first call. After the insurrection had been suppressed, the government, with a haste and disregard of consequences, inseparable from French legislation, resorted to measures well calculated to produce, in no long time, another outbreak. Although soldiers and citizens were with them, and there appeared no likelihood of further disturbance, yet Paris was placed in a state of siege; all the opposition journals were suppressed; clubs and political meetings were interdicted for the space of a year; and every means taken to arrest even those who laboured only under suspicion of being opposed to government. The Assembly debated the expediency of arresting the one hundred and twenty-five members, who, as was believed, had signed an opposition placard; but lest so great a loss of number might give a preponderance to the legitimatists, the design was abandoned.

General Oudinot continued his advances upon Rome until the close of June. Some spirited attempts were made upon separate points of the defences; shells and other missiles were thrown into the city; and the garrison was repeatedly summoned to surrender. But notwithstanding the loss of

their property, the destruction of many monuments of art, and their personal sufferings, the soldiery and inhabitants still persisted in their resistance. Early in July the Constituent Assembly unanimously voted the constitution of the Republic, and ordered it to be deposited in the capitol. They also ordered funeral services to be celebrated in St. Stephen's for those who had fallen in defence of the Republic.

But it had now become evident that further resistance was useless. The French had surrounded the city; their cannon pointed toward its most populated quarters; the garrison, though determined, was small; and an assault, besides causing great slaughter, would in all probability terminate in the capture of the city and the ruin of some of its finest monuments of art. To prevent such a calamity, negotiations were opened with the French; terms of capitulation were signed; and Rome opened her gates to a French army. At the same time, Garibaldi passed through the city with ten thousand men, and succeeded in effecting his escape. The Assembly announced by proclamation the arrival of the French troops, and recommended abstinence from all vengeance, denouncing it as useless, and unworthy the dignity of Roman citizens. The French army entered, July 3, in the evening; the soldiers cleared the streets of barricades; and by dark the troops were consigned to their various quarters. A new government was formed; the troops were stationed in places favourable for suppressing disturbances; some companies were despatched in pursuit of Garibaldi; and in order that the Romans might not mistake as to the nature of the protection to be afforded them by their new deliverers, the arms of the pope were run up in a conspicuous place.

The war now commenced between the president and the Assembly. The despotic designs of Bonaparte were every day rendered more obvious. His party in the Assembly agreed with the legitimatists in all their reactionary schemes; and the real republicans were completely powerless. But the monarchical party was split up into factions, under the



Cavaignac.

separate leaders, Barrot, Guizot, and Berryer, and therefore the republic was thought to be safe. By a law passed in May, 1849, the right of suffrage had been greatly abridged, so as to take away entirely the voice of the poorer class in the nation. Yet the republicans, under the lead of Cavaignac, Favre, Michel, Lamartine, and Hugo, boldly maintained their principles and denounced all violations of the constitution.

The strife between the government and the legitimatists and republicans continued till December, 1851. The tide had been setting in favour of the power of Louis Napoleon; but the republicans calculated upon a triumph at the presidential election. The government attempted to gain the favour of the masses by proposing the repeal of the suffrage law of May. But the Assembly refused to agree to this project. The only hope for the president then lay in the use of force, and his measures were taken accordingly. On the 4th of December, 1851, the National Assembly was dissolved, the constitution overthrown, the leading opponents of the designs of Bonaparte arrested, and a new form of government proclaimed, with the support of three hundred thousand soldiers, commanded by General St. Arnaud. The following narrative of this *coup d'état* is by a member of the Assembly, and was contributed to the London Times of December 10. The opinions are those of the writer—the facts are unquestionable.

Louis Napoleon, in order to endeavour to palliate in France and abroad the audacious violation of the laws which he has just committed, has caused a report to be circulated that he only anticipated the hostile measures of the Assembly, which was conspiring against himself; and that if he had not struck that body, it would have struck him. This sort of defence is no novelty to us in France. All our revolutionists have used it these sixty years. The members of the Convention, who sent each other to the scaffold, invariably treated their adversaries as conspirators. But in the present instance this accusation, as far as the majority of the Assembly is concerned,

is without a pretext, and can only pass current among strangers ignorant of the true course of events.

No doubt history will have weighty charges to bring against the Legislative Assembly, which has just been illegally and violently dissolved. The parties of which that Assembly was composed failed to come to an understanding; this gave to the whole body an uncertain and sometimes contradictory policy, and finally discredited the Assembly, and rendered it incapable of defending either liberty or its own existence. History will record thus much; but history will reject with contempt the accusation which Louis Napoleon has preferred against us. If you do not believe my assurances, judge at least by the facts—not the secret facts which I could disclose to you, but the public facts printed in the *Moniteur*.

In the month of August last, the Assembly voted the revision of the constitution by an immense majority. Why was the revision of the constitution desired? - Simply to legalize the re-election of Louis Napoleon. Was that an act of conspiracy against him?

The Assembly prorogued itself soon after this vote; the *Conseils Généraux*, convoked immediately afterward, and principally consisting of representatives, also expressed an almost unanimous desire for the revision of the constitution. Was that an act of conspiracy against Louis Napoleon?

The Assembly met again on the 4th of November. There was an electoral law—that of the 31st of May—which the great majority of the Assembly had voted. This law was unpopular, and to catch the favour of the people, Louis Napoleon, who had been the first to propose and sanction the law of the 31st of May the year before, demands its abrogation, and proposes another law in a message insulting to the Assembly. The new electoral law proposed by him was, indeed, rejected, but by a majority of only two votes; and immediately afterward the chamber proceeded, in order to comply with the president's policy, to adopt in another form most of the changes he had proposed. Was that an act of conspiracy against Louis Napoleon?

Shortly afterward, a proposition was made by the questors, to enable us to place the parliament in a state of defence, if attacked, and to call troops directly to our assistance. This proposition was, as nobody can deny, in strict conformity with the constitution, and all that the proposed resolution did was to define the means of exercising a power which the Assembly incontestably possessed. Nevertheless, from fear of a collision with the executive power, the legislature dared not assert this incontestable right. The proposition of the questors was rejected by a large majority. Was that an act of conspiracy against Louis Napoleon? What! the Assembly was conspiring, and it renounced the command of the troops which might have defended it, and made them over to the man who was compassing its ruin! And when did these things happen? A fortnight ago.

Lastly, a bill on the responsibility of the president and the different officers of state was sent up to the Assembly by the Conseil d'Etat. Observe, that this proposition did not emanate from the Assembly; that the Assembly had no right, by law, to refuse to entertain it. The bill was, therefore, brought up, but the committee to which it was referred showed at once that its disposition was conciliatory. The provisions of the bill were rendered more mild, and the discussion was to be deferred, in order to avoid the displeasure of the executive power. Were these the actions of enemies and conspirators? And what was happening in the meanwhile? All the journals notoriously paid by the president, insulted the Assembly day by day, in the coarsest manner, threatened it, and tried by every means to cover it with unpopularity.

This is history—the truth of history. The acts of which I speak are the last of the National Assembly of France, and I defy our adversaries to find any other fact to oppose to them. That an Assembly of seven hundred and fifty members may have included in that number certain conspirators, it would be absurd to deny. But the manifest truth, proved by its acts, is that the majority of this Assembly, instead of conspiring against Louis Napoleon, sought for nothing so much



as to avoid a quarrel with him; that it carried its moderation toward him to the verge of weakness, and its desire of conciliation to a degree of pusillanimity. That is the truth. You may believe my assertions, for I participated in none of the passions of its parties, and I have no reason either to flatter or to hate them.

Let us now proceed to examine what the Assembly did on the 2d December; and here I cease to express any opinion—I merely relate, as an actual witness, the things I saw with my eyes, and heard with my ears. When the representatives of the people learned, on waking that morning, that several of their colleagues were arrested, they ran to the Assembly. The doors were guarded by the Chasseurs de Vincennes, a corps of troops recently returned from Africa, and long accustomed to the violences of Algerine dominion, who, moreover, were stimulated by a donation of five francs distributed to every soldier who was in Paris that day. The representatives, nevertheless, presented themselves to go in, having at their head one of their vice-presidents, M. Daru. This gentleman was violently struck by the soldiers, and the representatives who accompanied him were driven back at the point of the bayonet. Three of them, M. de Talbouet, Etienne, and Dupare were slightly wounded. Several others had their clothes pierced. Such was the commencement.

Driven from the doors of the Assembly, the deputies retired to the Marie of the 10th arrondissement. They were already assembled to the number of about three hundred, when the troops arrived, blocked up the approaches, and prevented a greater number of the representatives from entering the apartment, though no one was at that time prevented from leaving it. Who, then, were these representatives assembled at the Marie of the 10th arrondissement, and what did they do there? Every shade of opinion was represented in this extemporaneous assembly. But eight-tenths of its members belonged to the different conservative parties which had constituted the majority. This assembly was presided over by two of its vice-presidents, M. Vitet, and M. Benoist d'Azy.

M. Daru was arrested in his own house; the fourth vice-president, the illustrious General Bedeau, had been seized that morning in his bed and handcuffed like a robber. As for the president, M. Dupin, he was absent, which surprised no one, as his cowardice was known. Besides its vice-presidents, the Assembly was accompanied by its secretaries, its ushers, and even its shorthand writer, who will preserve for posterity the records of this last and memorable sitting. The Assembly, thus constituted, began by voting a decree in the following terms:—

“In pursuance of Article 68 of the Constitution—viz.: the president of the republic, the ministers, the agents, and depositaries of public authority are responsible, each in what concerns themselves respectively, for all the acts of the government and the administration—any measure by which the president of the republic dissolves the National Assembly, prorogues it, or places obstacles in the exercise of its powers, is a crime of high treason.

“By this act merely, the president is deprived of all authority, the citizens are bound to withhold their obedience, the executive power passes in full right to the National Assembly. The Judges of the High Court of Justice will meet immediately, under pain of forfeiture; they will convoke the juries in the place which they will select, to proceed to the judgment of the president and his accomplices; they will nominate the magistrates charged to fulfil the duties of public ministers.

“And seeing that the National Assembly is prevented by violence from exercising its powers, it decrees as follows, viz.:

“*Louis Napoleon Bonaparte is deprived of all authority as president of the republic.* The citizens are enjoined to withhold their obedience. The executive power has passed in full right to the National Assembly. The judges of the High Court of Justice are enjoined to meet immediately, under pain of forfeiture, to proceed to the judgment of the president and his accomplices; consequently all the officers and functionaries of power and public authority are bound to obey all requis-

tions made in the name of the National Assembly, under pain of forfeiture and of high treason.

“Done and decreed unanimously in public sitting, this 2d of December, 1851.

(Signed)

BENOIS D’AZY, President.

VITET, Vice-President.

MOULIN, } Secretaries.”

CHAPOT, }

[Here follow the names of members who signed this decree, in alphabetical order, numbering two hundred and thirty, which we omit. Among them are many familiar names, including a large portion of the most distinguished members of the Assembly. We copy a few of the names, viz.: Messrs. De Balzac, Odillon Barrot, Barthelemy St. Hilaire, Bauchard, Gustave de Beaumont, Berryer, Bixio, Coquerel, Didier, Dufaure, Pascal Duprat, Duvergier de Hauranne, Keratry, Lanjuinais, General de Lauriston, General Oudinot, De Reggio, St. Beauve, General de St. Priest, De Tocqueville, and Eugene Sue.]

All the members whose names I have here given, were arrested. Several others, having left the room after having signed, could not be taken. Among these, the best known are M. de Tracy, M. de Malleville, Ferdinand de Lasteyrie, and General Rulhière.

After having voted this first decree, another was unanimously passed, naming General Oudinot commander of the public forces, and M. Tamisier was joined with him as chief of the staff. The choice of these two officers from distinct shades of political opinion, showed that the Assembly was animated by one common spirit.

These decrees had scarcely been signed by all the members present, and deposited in a place of safety, when a band of soldiers, headed by their officers, sword in hand, appeared at the door, without, however, daring to enter the apartment. The Assembly awaited them in perfect silence. The president alone raised his voice, read the decrees which had just been passed to the soldiers, and ordered them to retire. The

poor fellows, ashamed of the part they were compelled to play, hesitated. The officers, pale and undecided, declared they should go for further orders. They retired, contenting themselves with blockading the passages leading to the apartment. The Assembly, not being able to go out, ordered the windows to be opened, and caused the decrees to be read to the people and the troops in the street below, especially that decree which, in pursuance of the 68th article of the constitution, pronounced the deposition and impeachment of Louis Napoleon.

Soon, however, the soldiers reappeared at the door, preceded this time by two *Commissaires de Police*. These men entered the room, and, amid the unbroken silence and total immobility of the Assembly, summoned the representatives to disperse. The president ordered them to retire themselves. One of the commissaires was agitated, and faltered; the other broke out in invectives. The president said to him, "Sir, we are here the lawful authority, and sole representatives of law and of right. We know that we cannot oppose to you material force, but we will only leave this chamber under constraint. We will not disperse. Seize us, and convey us to prison." "All, all," exclaimed the members of the Assembly. After much hesitation, the *Commissaires de Police* decided to act. They caused the two presidents to be seized by the collar. The whole body then rose, and, arm-in-arm, two-and-two, they followed the presidents, who were led off. In this order we reached the street, and were marched across the city, without knowing whither we were going.

Care had been taken to circulate a report among the crowd and the troops that a meeting of Socialist and Red Republican deputies had been arrested. But when the people beheld, among those who were thus dragged through the mud of Paris on foot, like a gang of malefactors, men the most illustrious by their talents and their virtues, ex-ministers, ex-ambassadors, generals, admirals, great orators, great writers, surrounded by the bayonets of the line, a shout was

raised, "Vive l'Assemblée Nationale!" The representatives were attended by these shouts until they reached the barracks of the Quai d'Orsay, where they were shut up. Night was coming on, and it was wet and cold. Yet the Assembly was left two hours in the open air, as if the government did not deign to remember its existence. The representatives here made their last roll-call in presence of their shorthand writer, who had followed them. The number present was two hundred and eighteen, to whom were added about twenty more in the course of the evening, consisting of members who had voluntarily caused themselves to be arrested. Almost all the men known to France and to Europe, who formed the majority of the Legislative Assembly, were gathered together in this place. Few were wanting, except those who, like M. Mole, had not been suffered to reach their colleagues. There were present, among others, the Duke de Broglie, who had come, though ill; the father of the house, the venerable Keratry, whose physical strength was inferior to his moral courage, and whom it was necessary to seat on a straw chair in the barrack-yard; Odillon Barrot, Dufaure, Berryer, Remusat, Duvergier de Hauranne, Gustave de Beaumont, de Tocqueville, de Falloux, Lanjuinais, Admiral Lane and Admiral Cecille, Generals Oudinot and Lauriston, the Duke de Luynes, the Duke de Montebello; twelve ex-ministers, nine of whom had served under Louis Napoleon himself; eight members of the Institute; all men who had struggled for three years to defend society and to resist the demagogic faction.

When two hours had elapsed, this assemblage were driven into the barrack-rooms up-stairs, where most of them spent the night without fire, and almost without food, stretched upon the boards. It only remained to carry off to prison these honourable men, guilty of no crime but the defence of the laws of their country. For this purpose the most distressing and ignominious means were selected. The cellular vans in which *forcats* are conveyed to the *bagne* were brought up. In these vehicles were shut up the men who had served and

honoured their country, and they were conveyed like three bands of criminals, some to the fortress of Mont Valerien, some to the Prison Mazas in Paris, and the remainder to Vincennes. The indignation of the public compelled the government, two days afterward, to release the greater number of them; some are still in confinement, unable to obtain either their liberty or their trial.

The treatment inflicted on the generals arrested on the morning of the 2d December, was still more disgraceful. Cavaignac, Lamoricière, Bedeau, Changarnier—the conquerors of Africa, were shut up in those infamous cellular vans, which are always inconvenient, and become almost intolerable on a lengthened journey. In this manner they were conveyed to Ham—that is, they were made to perform upward of a day's journey. Cavaignac, who had saved Paris and France in the days of June—Cavaignac, the competitor of Louis Napoleon at the last election, shut up for a day and a night in the cell of a felon! I leave it to every honest man and every generous heart to comment on such facts. Can it be that indignities which surpass the actions of the King of Naples find a defender in England? No; England knows but a small portion of what is taking place. I appeal to her better judgment when these facts are known to the world.

Such are the indignities offered to persons. Let me now review the series of general crimes. The liberty of the press is destroyed to an extent unheard of even in the time of the empire. Most of the journals are suppressed, those which appear cannot say a word on politics or even publish any news. But this is by no means all. The government has stuck up a list of persons who are formed into a "Consultative Committee." Its object is to induce France to believe that the executive is not abandoned by every man of respectability and consideration among us. More than half the persons on this list have refused to belong to the commission; most of them regard the insertion of their names as dishonour. I may quote among others M. Leon Faucher,

M. Portalis, first president of the Court of Cassation, and the Duke of Albufera, as those best known. Not only does the government decline to publish the letters in which these gentlemen refuse their consent, but even their names are not withdrawn from a list which dishonours them. The names are still retained, in spite of their repeated remonstrances. A day or two ago, one of them, M. Joseph Perier, driven to desperation by this excess of tyranny, rushed into the street to strike out his own name with his own hands from the public placards, taking the passers-by to witness that it had been placed there by a lie.

Such is the state of the public journals. Let us now see the condition of personal liberty. I say, again, that personal liberty is more trampled on than ever it was in the time of the empire. A decree of the new power gives the prefects the right to arrest, in their respective departments, whomsoever they please; and the prefects, in their turn, send blank warrants of arrest, which are literally *lettres de cachet*, to the sous-prefects under their orders. The Provisional government of the republic never went so far. Human life is as little respected as human liberty. I know that war has its dreadful necessities, but the disturbances which have recently occurred in Paris have been put down with a barbarity unprecedented in our civil contests; and when we remember that this torrent of blood has been shed to consummate the violation of all laws, we cannot but think that sooner or later it will fall back upon the heads of those who shed it. As for the appeal to the people, to which Louis Napoleon affects to submit his claims, never was a more odious mockery offered to a nation. The people is called upon to express its opinion, yet not only is public discussion suppressed, but even the knowledge of facts. The people is asked its opinion, but the first measure taken to obtain it is to establish military terrorism throughout the country, and to threaten with deprivation every public agent who does not approve in writing what has been done.

Such, sir, is the condition in which we stand. Force over-

turning law, trampling on the liberty of the press and of the person, deriding the popular will, in whose name the government pretends to act—France torn from the alliance of free nations to be yoked to the despotic monarchies of the continent—such is the result of this *coup d'état*. If the judgment of the people of England could approve these military saturnalia, and if the facts I have related, and which I pledge myself are accurately true, did not rouse its censures, I should mourn for you and for ourselves, and for the sacred cause of legal liberty throughout the world; for the public opinion of England is the grand jury of mankind in the cause of freedom; and if its verdict were to acquit the oppressor, the oppressed would have no other resource but in God.

One word more, to record a fact which does honour to the magistracy of France, and which will be remembered in its annals. The army refused to submit to the decree of the captive Assembly impeaching the president of the republic; but the High Court of Justice obeyed it. These five judges, sitting in the midst of Paris, enslaved, and in the face of martial law, dared to assemble at the Palace of Justice and to issue process commencing criminal proceedings against Louis Napoleon, charged with high treason by the law, though already triumphant in the streets. I subjoin the text of this memorable edict:—

#### *The High Court of Justice.*

Considering the 68th article of the constitution, considering that printed placards commencing with the words “the President of the Republic,” and bearing at the end the signatures of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, and De Morny, Minister of the Interior, which placards announce, among other things, the dissolution of the National Assembly, have this day been affixed to the walls of Paris: that this fact of the dissolution of the Assembly by the president of the republic would fall under the case provided for by the 68th article of the constitution, and render the convocation of the High Court of Justice imperative; by the terms of that article de-



clares that the High Court is constituted, and names M. Renouard, counsellor of the Court of Cassation, to fill the duties of public accuser, and to fill those of greffier, M. Bernard, greffier in chief of the Court of Cassation; and to proceed further in pursuance of the terms of the said 68th article of the constitution, adjourns until to-morrow, the 3d of December, at the hour of noon.

Done and deliberated in the Council Chamber. Present, M. Hardouin, president, M. Pataille, M. Moreau, M. de la Palme, and M. Cauchy, judges, this 2d day of December, 1851.

After this textual extract from the Minutes of the High Court of Justice there is the following entry:—

1. A *proces-verbal* stating the arrival of a Commissaire de Police, who called upon the High Court to separate.

2. A *proces-verbal* of a second sitting held on the morrow, the 3d day of December, (when the Assembly was in prison,) at which M. Renouard accepts the functions of public prosecutor, charged to proceed against Louis Napoleon, after which the High Court, being no longer able to sit, adjourned to a day to be fixed hereafter.

The new form of government proclaimed by Louis Napoleon, and sanctioned, as is said, by a majority of over six millions of French votes, is an unmitigated despotism. The president is to hold his office for ten years. There are two legislative bodies—a senate, and a council of deputies; but the president has it in his power to select the members from the returned lists, and all laws must be proposed by him. The reins are in Bonaparte's hands. Besides, the enormous military force frowns down all opposition. Discussion is prohibited, and there can be no freedom of choice where there is no discussion. But five persons, supposed to be inimical to Bonaparte's movement, have been chosen to seats in the lower legislative body. These will be impotent.



Isabella II.

## CHAPTER IX

## AFFAIRS IN SPAIN—ATTEMPT TO ASSASSINATE THE QUEEN.

SPAIN was quiet during the period when the greater part of Europe was shaken by revolutionary movements. Her people seemed to be perfectly satisfied with the government,

or totally unambitious of freedom and power. A liberal party has existed in Spain ever since the accession of Ferdinand VII., and under Riego and other bold leaders, has maintained many a desperate struggle with the adherents of despotism. The present government may be said to be liberal, compared with that for which the Carlists contended. Still there is much, very much, to reform in Spain; and it is surprising that the liberals remained quiet, when the French, Italians, and Germans, were in successful rebellion.

A late event, which threw the kingdom into commotion, caused some developments in regard to the state of affairs in Spain. This was an attempt to assassinate Queen Isabella II. On the 4th of February, 1852, during the royal audience, the assassin, Martin Merino, approached the queen, and knelt down, as if to present a memorial. He was attired in clerical robes, and no one suspected his evil intentions. When near enough he suddenly struck at the queen with great force, with a dagger which he had before kept concealed. Isabella had put forward her arm, perhaps to receive a memorial, and this act saved her life. The weapon grazed her forearm, and striking her on the front part of the right side, penetrated through several folds of her mantle of velvet and gold, cut through the stays, the whalebone of which diminished the effect of the blow, and made a slight wound, just escaping the liver. At the moment of striking, the assassin exclaimed—"Toma, ya tienes bastante!" ("Take it; you have now got enough.") The queen's first thought was for her child. "Mi nina!" she exclaimed. "Que cinden a Isabel." ("My child!—let them take care of Isabel.") Confusion ensued. The king consort drew his sword. One of the royal halberdiers struck down the assassin, who let fall the dagger and was secured by the Duke of Tamames, and other members of the royal suite. The queen was able to walk to her chamber, where she fainted. But the best attendance was immediately secured, and her majesty gradually recovered from the effects of the wound.

Martin Merino, who made this bold attempt at assassina-



Spaniards.

tion, was a native of Arnedo, in the province of Logrone, sixty-three years of age, an ex-friar of the Fransiscan order, secularized, on his own application, in 1821. The *Gaceta Militar* describes him as an enthusiastic Carlist, and says that he emigrated as an anti-liberal between 1820 and '23; that he served as a captain in the Carlist army during the civil war, and came in under the convention of Bergara. That he was engaged in an attempt against the life of Queen Christiana during her regency, but failed to find an opportunity for carrying his project into execution; and that he had been acting as an assistant curate at Madrid, in the parishes of San Sebastian and San Migan. After the attempt upon the life of Queen Isabella, Merino was removed in a coach to the Saladero prison. The cavalry escort is said to have had some difficulty in preventing the crowd around the

palace from dealing summary justice upon him. The old partisan feeling was revived—the assassin was believed to have been instigated by the Carlists. Merino continued perfectly cool, and evinced no “compunctious visitings” for his act. His only inquiry was, “Is the queen dead?” And when told that she was not, he expressed surprise, and said that he had hit her hard enough. At other times, he was very abusive to those who spoke to him; but in general he preserved a cold, sneering manner. He had performed mass at 11 o’clock on the morning of the day on which he made the attempt at assassination. He was executed by the *garotte* on the 7th of February, dying calmly, and without confessing who or what had instigated the commission of the crime.

In Spain, parties are not content with a fair and open contest, but all deadly and mysterious means are employed to effect the overthrow of rivals. The remnant of the Carlist party have not been, nor cannot be, trusted, in word or deed, by the triumphant partisans of Isabella. Intrigues, plots, assassinations and petty squabbles make up the every-day life of the courtiers and the nobility in general.

Two attempts have been made, by expeditions from the United States, to wrest the valuable island of Cuba from the Spanish crown. But the people were loyal. The invaders were defeated and dispersed. General Lopez, the commander of both expeditions, with fifty-two of his men, were captured and shot. Cuba, alone of all the Spanish possessions in America and the West Indies, remains true to her old allegiance. But the eyes of the citizens of the great North American republic have been fixed upon the island, and how long it may elude their grasp cannot be determined.



## CHAPTER X.

## THE PRESENT ATTITUDE OF THE KINGS AND PEOPLE OF EUROPE.

At the present time, the continent of Europe is overshadowed by a despotism more Upas-like and gloomy than the history of the Middle Ages can parallel. The freedom of speech, and all the means for the development of the mental might of nations, are set up to be mocked and jeered. Monarchs, upheld upon their thrones by those devouring locusts, enormous standing armies, boldly and fearlessly maintain the principle of "divine right" — the divine right to crush to the dust their fellow men; and the masses are threatened into silence.

NO FAITH WITH SUBJECTS—is the royal maxim now made but too familiar to the mind of Europe. It will be remembered when the next turn of the wheel shall give subjects their power over sovereigns. All hope of constitutionalism

for the chief monarchies of the continent may be said to have come to an end—that is, all hope of preserving those monarchies by allying them with popular institutions, has become manifestly vain. Every such adjustment—every such *constituting* of things, supposes mutual trust, and mutual trust is gone. One stipulation deemed strictly necessary in such monarchies is, that the king, if he be an hereditary king, should have the command of the army; and will the injured people of the continent ever dispose of that power after the same manner again, if it should once more come into their hands? It is by their care to save monarchy, that those communities have all but destroyed themselves. We venture to predict that they will give little sign of such care in the time to come. The absolutists know this full well, and they are taking their measures accordingly. They have now the command of their armies, they have resolved to do their best to keep possession of that power, and they have staked every thing on the desperate chance of being able to rule purely by the sword. All the social and mental degradation, and all the corruptness both in morals and religion, which a thorough military despotism has ever entailed, are to be diffused, and, as far as possible, made hereditary among some three-fourths of the people of Europe! Even more; as is the hatred of all such rule among the people who are to be made subject to it, so, as we have said, must be the strength and mercilessness of this power if it is to retain its ascendancy. To be successful, it must be a more awful embodiment of evil than history has hitherto recorded. Happily, we see nothing in the capacities of the men who have given themselves to this enterprise to warrant us in supposing that they will be successful. This grand conspiracy of princes against peoples, of monarchs against men, will explode, and those who have committed themselves to it will probably perish in its ruins. But with this probability before us, we feel disposed to look a little beyond it, and to ask ourselves what is likely to come next?—what in the condition of the continental states is the most to be desired as coming next?

The common notion that constitutionalism is what the situation of the European states demands, is an error which proved deadly to liberal anticipations in 1848. In Germany particularly, constitutionalism cannot be harmonized with the existing dynastic government. The reasons we shall proceed to show. Prussia is regarded as the archetype of a German monarchy; but Prussia is altogether a product of family ambition. No reason whatever can be assigned for joining its several parts together, except that it was regarded as for the interest of the Hohenzollern family that it should so be. Prussia exists, accordingly, as Prussia, purely for the sake of its princes—that its resources may be conveniently at their disposal. With all that it includes, Prussia is still the smallest of the European monarchies pretending to an independent international policy; and is in a position, moreover, very unfavourable to its acting on such a policy. These pressing exigencies have rendered it indispensable, if the dynastic interest is to be sustained in Prussia, that the properties and lives of all the members of the community should be placed at the absolute service of that interest.

That man is born to be a royal functionary, is a radical principle in the Prussian state. In so far as he is successful in this direction, he realizes his proper destination. It is well known, also, that by the wisdom and generosity of the Prussian government, it is provided that every man shall participate in a measure, and for a season, in this proper end of his being, by becoming a soldier, and by being liable to be called out in that capacity at the pleasure of the sovereign, so long as he may be deemed capable of service. But this military service, as may be supposed, is not the form of service to which the passion for place, so common among Prussians, most earnestly aspires. In that country, the poorest man will subject himself and his family to the severest privations, that he may secure to his son a university education, in the hope that one day he will *become something*, and to become *something*, in the language of Prussia—indeed, in the language of all Germany—is to rise to a government ap-



pointment. The idea that to succeed in this way is to succeed in the way most honourable to a rational being, is so deeply rooted in the German mind, that not to have attained to title and office is a defect hardly to be compensated by birth, wealth, or even genius. Let a man become rich by his industry, famous by his talent, he will still covet, if he be a true German, the honorary title of a commercial or an aulic counsellor. Thus admitted into the functionary world, his existence is duly legalized. It is due also to this functionary world to state, that whenever a man rises above the common level, he is sure to be taken into the guild of functionaries by means of some title, if not by means of office. That no man of status, in any way, may be without this badge of relationship and dependence, various orders of knighthood have been instituted, and every year numberless pieces of ribbon, of various hues and dignity, are scattered profusely abroad, so that it has come to be a common saying, that in Prussia there are two things which a man must not hope to escape—death, and the order of the red eagle. By such means the government has succeeded in drawing the substance of the middle classes as it were into itself; much as it succeeded in former times in bringing the nobility into a condition of abject servitude. The monarchy is the central power which for ages has been not only attracting every thing in this manner to its own centre, but absorbing every thing there. That the government may possess the power necessary to such a policy, it not only has the police and the judicial departments at its disposal, but extends its authority and patronage to the ecclesiastical, the educational, the artistic, the scientific, the medical, in all of which the chief appointments come from this centre, and the pay from this centre.

The extent to which the independent spirit of the middle classes is impaired and consumed by this base contrivance, may be inferred from the fact, that there is scarcely a student who does not go to the university with the avowed purpose of qualifying himself to obtain some government appointment; and that there is rarely a man of any pretension

to respectability who does not send one or all of his sons to prosecute such studies in such hope—to give themselves to honest industry, being to lose caste, in comparison with becoming a government functionary.

Now a German House of Commons, inasmuch as it would be impossible to exclude from it the most influential and intelligent portion of the middle classes, would of necessity include *a large majority of functionaries*—or of persons receiving pay from the government, and reckoned in that category—such as counsellors, judges, barristers, professors in universities or in gymnasia, and officers of the revenue. Indeed, if we take into our account all persons belonging to military or official families, we doubt much, if in a German House of Commons, you would not have to pass by bench after bench to find a solitary member whose position in life could be said to be without any dependence on the government, so as to be compatible with an unbiased course of utterance and action.

If it be indispensable, accordingly, to a constitutional government, that there should be a jealous separation between the *legislative* power and the *executive*, how could that be possible in states, where the chambers would be called together only to transfer the discussions proper to them as public servants, from the board of green cloth to the *salle des deputes* ! If constitutionalism consists in the balancings of three powers, how could it be established in a state where two of the three are wanting ? If it be described as the best form of self-government, how may that be carried on through the medium of assemblies made up so largely of men dependent on the public purse ? And if in every such adjustment there must be a careful separation between the legislative and the executive, how would that be possible through the medium of conventions in which the great majority who make the laws would consist of persons in the pay of the government ? By this time our reader will begin to see what the working of the Prussian monarchy has been, and will begin to wish, if we mistake not, that its days may be numbered.

At present, Prussia is made for its king—the king is not made for Prussia. The state is what it is, simply that the king may be what he is. In that land, the end of all things is the elevation of a house, not the elevation of a people. It is a state in which every thing institutional is constructed and worked so as to *exhaust public spirit*, and to place the men and the means of *all families* at the disposal of *one family*.

If there be apparent exceptions to the above statement, they are only apparent. Attempts to do something in the way of constitutionalism, on a small scale, are not unknown among the Germans; but there has been a want of nature and sincerity in such appearances. There are reasons which may dispose princes, though great lovers of absolutism, to give their sanction to some puerile imitations of constitutionalism. Princes, in some of the smaller states, have so done, in the hope of placing a check by such means, on the ambition of the greater—especially on Austria and Prussia. To the overwhelming material force of those great powers, they have sometimes opposed the threat of an alliance with popular disaffection at home, and with liberal principles abroad. Late events, however, have shown that these petty princes, when such an alternative is really before them, will be sure to prefer that their principalities should pass under the yoke of Prussia or Austria, than that they should be permanently governed by means of really liberal institutions. For reasons very similar to those which have disposed the smaller states toward this sham constitutionalism, Prussia has had her seasons of flirtation with all existing varieties of liberalism. In this manner she has endeavoured to turn the scale of popularity in her favour when opposed by the rivalries of Russia, Austria, France, and the smaller principalities.

Convinced, as we are, that any political system which, in its working, must be hostile to the particular interests of the men who have to work it, is a monstrosity, we feel that constitutionalism, and the present dynastic functionaryism, of Germany, can never work together. In such a state of

society constitutionalism must be a sham—a pernicious sham. All who meddle with it are in danger of being damaged by so doing. Its effect upon the people must be to divert their energies into a wrong channel, and to augment the host of difficulties which in any course must press upon them. Seeing those who should be their leaders given up to abstractions, carried away by conceits, and skilful in inventing smooth names and hollow pretexts, in the hope of realizing only so much of change as may be consonant with their own interests, what marvel if the bitterness of disappointment, and the presence of fear, should prepare them for giving ear to desperate projects, and for putting themselves under some extravagant guidance. Such must ever be the result of placing men in positions thus false; and such has been the result of attempting to save continental royalty by allying it with popular institutions in the manner required by what is called constitutionalism. Dynastic organization of this complexion and free institutions cannot be worked harmoniously. It is to attempt a mixture of the iron and the clay.

The founding of the Prussian monarchy was a purely money affair, conducted in the spirit of a pawnbroker. The Emperor Sigismund of Germany, being unable to redeem the margravedom of Bradenburgh from the ancestor of the present dynasty, to whom it had been pledged for a sum of money, scarcely more than would suffice now-a-days to purchase a very small estate, the land and the people of Bradenburgh passed into the hands by which they have been since retained. In this proceeding, the people, as a matter of course, were expected to be as passive as quadrupeds, and they appear to have been so. Part of Prussia Proper and Pomerania, devolved on the house of Hohenzollern by virtue of a family compact. Keeping in remembrance how this transfer of provinces and people from hand to hand has been sanctioned by European diplomacy and European law—species of slave-trade though it be—the acquisition of these two provinces may be regarded as the least censurable of all the measures by which the patchwork of the Prussian

monarchy has been brought together. The province of Silesia was the pre-selected booty of a war undertaken to secure it. The grand duchy of Posen, and the other parts of Prussia Proper, were the Prussian share of the spoil obtained on the partition of Poland—an event which has acquired an exceptional notoriety purely from the fact that the Poles bravely resisted the sort of wrong to which other people, more in the manner of the times, silently submitted. Almost all the remaining territory of Prussia, comprising the Saxon and Rhenish provinces, was assigned to that state by a diplomatic convention in a manner which, keeping in view its time and its circumstances, exhibited a more wilful and flagrant violation of popular rights than any of the measures of this description which had preceded it. For the people whom the diplomatists at the Congress of Vienna presumed to dispose of after this fashion, were not only the people whose valour had delivered the territories in question from the foot of the invader, but they were the people who had done that thing upon express stipulation that they should never again be assigned to the charge of authority of any kind without their consent. The diplomatists did not wait for that consent; and the crowned traitors who profited by that haste, ruled over them until 1848, in apparent utter forgetfulness of the vows that were upon them. Thus Germany, and the greater part of Europe, were parcelled out a second time, at the close of a great war, according to the power or policy of a few subtle and selfish men, who chanced to be uppermost, very much as they had been some two centuries before.

It will be seen from these observations that we regard the foundations of some of the continental monarchies as being of a very peaceable description. If the professors of constitutionalism in the Prussian chambers must remind us of the rights of the crown, we challenge the production of all charters in favour of those rights. Where are they? Nearly all the provinces of that monarchy belong to it as the result of processes in which subtlety has prevailed over simplicity, or might over right. In all instances the people have been

handed over with the soil, as the chance of the game, whether played in the cabinet or the field, may have determined. These facts will account for the contempt with which the King of Prussia is disposed to speak of "pieces of paper with letters scribbled thereon"—meaning thereby such papers as he would be only too happy to produce in support of his royalties, if they had ever existed; and such, also, as contain stipulated rights on behalf of the people, which it would be pleasant to him to regard as wholly extinct and forgotten. The bare enumeration of the titles of the many duchies, provinces, districts, great and small, which have come to constitute this monarchy, is enough to suggest that the course of things in this respect must have been any thing but natural.

Nor has it taken a very long time to bring these appropriating influences to bear on so many places and communities. Nearly half this ill-gotten wealth was allotted to the Hohenzollern family so late as the year 1815, and by far the greater portion of the other half was in the hands of other families not more than a century since. The many people, who within so short an interval have been compelled to abjure one allegiance and adopt another, at the peril of being deemed traitors, and punished as such, do not forget what has happened, though it may be convenient to some other parties that they should so do. Loyalty in such cases, if it exist at all, must be devoid of all intelligence and nobleness—a mere instinct, rising hardly higher than the fidelity of a dog to his master. Prussia and Austria owe their existence purely to functionaryism, civil or military. Apart from the interested fidelity of the officers in the army, and the almost endless gradation of placemen, from the village schoolmaster upward, they would drop to pieces. The day in which the will of the disinterested and the patriotic should become ascendant, would be the day of their death-knell.

In 1848 the constitutionalists had to choose between a bias on the side of republicanism or of monarchy, and they chose the latter. By their assistance, the princes succeeded in reviving

the military and bureaucratic spirit, and that done, all things returned fast toward their old level. The different powers pledged themselves to the help of each other in their common difficulties; armies surrounded the capitals where the chambers supposed to represent the people were assembled; agents of the different governments stimulated the people to some excesses, and thus furnished a pretext for the summary course desired—viz., that of martial law. When the *agens provocateurs* did not succeed in producing the convenient amount of disorder, the prince fled in professed apprehension of it, and in the hope that attempts would be made to set up a republic—an event which it was calculated would bring back the more moderate and influential portions of the community to the side of the monarchy. But in no case did the people commit themselves to purely republican institutions. Nevertheless, the bare fact that they had put their prince into bodily fear—or that they were charged with having so done—and had thus forced him to leave his capital, was construed as enough to warrant the intervention of the allies for the purpose of restoring all things to a state of order, according to the old ideas on that subject.

In this manner absolutism has been re-established in Prussia, Austria, Saxony, Baden, Hesse-Cassel, and elsewhere. Twice Vienna might have been saved, had not the wish to perpetuate constitutional principles in the future government intervened to prevent it. The first of these occasions was when Windischgratz had not as yet gathered his forces, and when he might have been precluded from so doing, if the diet had proceeded at once to an organization of the peasantry, who were everywhere ready to obey the first call. The second instance was when the diet declined the proffered assistance of the Hungarian army, and did not authorize it to enter the German territory. Had the wisdom and promptitude demanded by the exigency been present at either of these junctures, we think it probable that Vienna would not have been taken; that modern history would not have been stained with the atrocities, rare even among savage nations, that

were there perpetrated; and that Hungary would not have fallen.

In Berlin, the chambers being well up in their constitutional catechism, allowed themselves to be dissolved, re-elected, purified, ambulated, once and again, all in the most scrupulous conformity with the maxim that patience and constitutional principles will do every thing. Some complaint, indeed, did arise, but it was of little worth or consistency, inasmuch as the plaintiffs had given the king full power to do all that he did.

Our conclusion from this series of instructive facts is, that the power of continental royalty, which has proved too strong for constitutionalism during the recent changes, is likely to prove too strong for it in any change yet to come. The choice of the people in these countries, accordingly, lies between submitting as heretofore—in truth, more abjectly than heretofore—to the power of their princes; and the use of some means for their deliverance from that power, possessing more aptness to meet the necessities of the case than the constitutional theories in which they have been hitherto so much disposed to confide.

Now it is worthy of note that this is the conclusion to which the instincts of the German people had in a great measure conducted them before the year 1848. It is a remarkable fact, that whenever the wave of public feeling runs high in Germany, the idea that comes floating upward again and again is that of the unity of the whole German fatherland. The language of the constitutional speculators has been—get liberal institutions in each state, and dream not of any thing so vast as the creation of a new empire. The language of the popular instinct, on the other hand, truer to nature, has been, the liberal institutions you seek cannot be realized, except as the dynastic policy so utterly incompatible with them shall be made to give place to a more natural policy—in a word, except as a care about the artificial elevation of families shall give place to a care about the natural distinction of races. The so-called rights of thrones must submit before



the inalienable rights of nationalities. This feeling points to the only sort of confederation promising to be powerful enough to rescue the continent from the monarchial tyrannies now ascendant there. The unity of Germany on the basis of nationality, would absorb or extinguish the dynasties of Prussia and Austria, and would be the signal for a similar emancipation of the Poles, Hungarians, Italians, and of all people now groaning under the sway of alien powers, instead of being left to become themselves powers. What diplomacy and the sword, working against nature, have hitherto kept together, would thus be dissolved, and the vocation of both, as we can fully believe, would be to a larger extent superseded.

But if this be the kind of change which can alone open to Europe the prospect of regeneration, can it surprise us that the chances of a few months in 1848 did not prove equal to the realization of such a new order of affairs? This change involves something more than a nice adjustment of relations between kings, nobles, and commoners. It embraces a reconstruction of Europe, and a settlement of some very old accounts between nations and nations, between races and races, and between religions and religions. The differences and convulsions that come up from these sources are ceaseless, and must be, so long as the present system shall last. We are not insensible to the difficulties connected with this question; we do not mean to conceal them; our only regret is, that we cannot in this place deal with them at all in the extent necessary to completeness.

First, with regard to this German unity, if it mean any thing, it must mean, at the least, the gradual diminution and final absorption of the several independent sovereignties and dynasties. The German princes, under the promptings of the law of self-preservation, saw this from the beginning—much more clearly than the constitutional party, who had honestly persuaded themselves that it would be possible to combine sovereignty in a variety of states, with the subjection of the whole to a strong central power, that power being

so constructed as to be favourable to general liberty. When at last they saw this scheme to be impracticable, they offered Germany to the King of Prussia. But had the King accepted it, the other German sovereigns would have thrown themselves into the arms of France, Russia, or England, and his majesty of Prussia could have maintained his position only by placing himself at the head of a European revolution. For such a responsibility he was far from being qualified, either by inclination or capacity.

Austria and Prussia would very willingly appropriate to themselves the rest of the German sovereignties; but their policy is to aim at this object by means of all sorts of family contracts, military conventions, commercial leagues, and political unions. Diplomatic artifice is confided in as a safer agency than the sword. Prussia owes nearly every thing to a game of this sort. Since the founding of that kingdom, the history of Germany has consisted very largely in the endeavours of the two great powers to gain an exclusive ascendancy over the smaller states; in the resistance of the smaller sovereignties to this policy; in the meddlings of the other European powers with this state of things, in the hope of turning it to their advantage; and in the gradually increasing disaffection of the people, from finding themselves made the everlasting tools of family ambition or foreign selfishness. The smaller states may be seen allying themselves with French liberalism or Russian despotism, as may best contribute to secure them against the encroachments of powers nearer home. Russia is much less interested in the triumph of absolutism in Germany, than in the maintenance of this entangled state of things, which, as it occupies and consumes the forces of Europe, is regarded as preparing the way for Slavic ascendancy. Princely professions of sympathy with liberalism, are well understood by such diplomatists as Metternich and Nesselrode. So long as liberalism is under check from a sovereign, it is known to be comparatively harmless; but let the will of the people become stronger in relation to it than the will of the prince, and it is at once voted as a

nuisance, and put down, if not by the prince himself, by so much of foreign intervention as may be necessary for that purpose. So long as the prince has his uses to make of it, it may be borne with, but let the people attempt to turn it to some higher account, and its days are numbered.

Nothing can be more ambiguous in this respect than the position of Prussia. Besides being the smallest of the European powers pretending to an independent political action, her possessions lie scattered over a disproportionably wide extent, and are divided moreover by an intervening tract of land, which, as late events have shown, may at any time be seized by an enemy. Prussia, cut up thus through the middle, has to defend herself against the three most powerful states of Europe—against Austria, her arch-enemy, on the south; against France, the most unsettled and warlike of nations, on the west; and against Russia, bordering on her open frontier in the east. Among all the provinces included in this political card-castle, there are two only—Brandenburgh, East Prussia and part of Pomerania, that do not remember and regret the time when made to become parts of it. The Rhenish provinces, being Catholic, and having retained the Code Napoleon from the times of the French occupation, have a strong bias toward France, and France is not the less disposed to look with some longing toward them. The Poles subject to Prussia have always regarded their connection with it as provisional; and, for reasons which will presently be stated, are directly interested in its extinction, not to mention their having been irreconcilably exasperated by the cruelties of the Prussian generals, Colomb and Steinäcker, in 1848. None of these provinces, with the exception of the two or three first named, know why they should belong to Prussia more than to any other state, or why the Prussian state should exist at all. But they all know full well that they are Germans, and, the greater part of them, that they are Protestants. It is for the reasons indicated in these facts, that the King of Prussia is obliged to flatter the spirit of German nationalism, and of Protestant enlightenment;

while, for reasons also indicated, he must not be expected to attempt any realization of the idea of German unity. Nor must he be expected to encourage a Protestant enlightenment of thought in relation to politics. What is called Prussia is a military and bureaucratic system, so spread over varieties of people as to draw off the power and substance of them all for its own maintenance and growth. To cede to these peoples independence, would be to assent to its own destruction. Placed by the nature of its origin between German patriotism and dynastic interest—between freedom of thought and military and bureaucratic absolutism, Prussia has calculated that the only means of existence open to her, is to practice a systematic deception on the spirit of her own subjects, by throwing over a power in reality absolute, some of the appearances of intellectual freedom.

The Austrian monarchy is incompatible with any thing like the principles of free government. It has its root in oppression, and therefore its destruction is necessary to liberty. In times of danger, Austria arms race against race, and when that cloud is past, throws all to the dust.

So much for the powers which fill the centre of Europe. Whether the great truth that the destruction of the present dynastic system is the first sure step to real freedom is appreciated by the people of Germany, we cannot determine. But it is certain that until they do appreciate and act upon it, their risings will be vain expenditures of blood and treasure, and their golden dreams unrealized.

Let us turn to Italy.

It is not to be denied that the character of the Italians stands far higher in the eyes of Europe than it did before 1848. The various nations of the Peninsula came out of that fierce ordeal with a reputation for bravery, for sustained enthusiasm, for pure devoted patriotism, for capacity of self-government, such as they never before enjoyed. Their conduct in 1848 was of a nature to redeem all their previous failures and miserable exhibitions. It is true that the Lombards, whatever be the true explanation of their supineness,

did nothing to fulfill the promise of their first brilliant exploit. It is true that the Sicilians, by a strange fatality of mismanagement, lost all the liberty for which they had fought so ably and so gallantly, and which they had so nearly won. Still, the expulsion of Radetsky, and the entire defeat of Ferdinand, showed capacities for which neither Milan nor Palermo could have previously gained credit. Both the Piedmontese regulars and the Roman and Tuscan volunteers distinguished themselves by a steady and determined courage, on numerous occasions, which the soldiers of no country could surpass. But it was at Rome and Venice that the Italian nation won her spurs, and made good her claim to join the communion of the noble and free states of the earth. In the former city, when the pope had fled, the republicans organized a government which for five months preserved order throughout the land, such as Romagna had not known for generations, with no bloodshed, and scarcely any imprisonment or exile; indeed, with a marvellous scantiness of punishment of any kind. While, during nearly the whole of this period, Rome, with fourteen thousand improvised troops, made good her defence against thirty thousand French, supplied with the best artillery, and commanded by experienced generals, and Garibaldi drove the invading army of Naples before him like frightened sheep. With such means and against such antagonists it was impossible to have done more: in the face of such hopeless odds few people and few cities would have done as much. For a space of time yet longer, Venice, under the elected dictatorship of one man, put forward energies and displayed virtues which were little expected from the most pleasure-loving and sybaritic city of the world. The wealthy brought their stores, the dissolute shook off their luxury, the effeminate braced themselves to hardship and exertion, and, without assistance or allies, these heroic citizens kept at bay for many months the whole force of the Austrian Empire, and at last obtained liberal and honourable terms. After two such examples as these, the Italians can never again be despised as incapable and cowardly, or pro-

nounced unfit for the freedom they had seized so gallantly and wielded so well. The comparison of 1848 with 1821 indicates a whole century of progress; and makes us confident, in spite of the cloudy and impenetrable present, that the day of the final emancipation of Italy must be near at hand.

Then Italy and Hungary have shown themselves rich in men not unequal to or unworthy of the crisis. Men have sprung up as they were wanted, and such as were wanted. Hungary has produced Kossuth, a writer and a statesman, fitted for any station, "equal to either fortune," revered, loved, and almost worshipped by his countrymen, in despite of that failure generally so fatal to all popular idols. In Italy—not to speak of Balbo, Capponi, and other less known names—three men of tried capacities and characters have appeared, and made good their claim to be leaders and organizers of Italian independence, Azeglio, Mazzini, and Manin. As patriotic writer, as gallant soldier, as prime minister of a constitutional kingdom, the first of these has shown his devotion to Italy and his ability to serve her; and, both as virtual ruler of Piedmont, and head of the moderate party, is probably now the most essential man in the Peninsula. Mazzini, who previously had been regarded as merely an impracticable, fanatical enthusiast, displayed, as chief of the Roman Triumvirate, capacity both for administration and for war, which mark him as the future statesman of Rome, when Rome shall again be in her own hands; while Manin, who, as far as we are aware, was wholly unknown to fame, appeared at the critical moment when the fate of Venice hung in the balance, gifted with the precise qualities demanded by the emergency. When Italy shall be free, we need not fear any lack of men competent to guide her destinies.

In Lombardy, the cause of independence was lost from causes which had no relation to its intrinsic strength. There can, we think, be little doubt that the people who, by no sudden surprise, but by five days' hard and sustained fighting,

had driven the ablest warrior and the picked soldiers of Austria out of Milan and to the borders of the Alps, would, if left to themselves, have completed their victory and made good their ground. But it is impossible to read Mazzini's and Mariotti's account of the war, without admitting that the cause never had fair play from the beginning. Charles Albert joined the Lombards from pure dread of a republic so near him being followed by a republic in his own territories; he fought, therefore, gallantly and well, but he fought for his personal ambition, and to prevent the Lombard republicans from fighting, and his great anxiety throughout was to gain the campaign without their aid. The republicans, on the other hand, mistrusted the king, and were little disposed to shed their blood for the aggrandizement of a dynasty which they had little reason to respect or love; and thus the real cause of Italian independence was compromised and paralyzed at the very outset by mutual and well-grounded mistrust.\* Still enough remains, and enough was done, to show what might have been done, what may be done again, if either the monarchical party would abstain from encumbering the republicans with aid, or if a monarch would arise whom even the republicans would fight for, and could trust. Enough was done to show how simple the condition, and how practicable the combinations by which the battle may be won.

In Rome, too, when the people and their sovereign were pitted singly against each other, the victory was not a moment doubtful. The pope was powerless—the people were omnipotent; and this, though they, a Catholic and superstitious people, had to fight against spiritual terrors as well as temporal arms. The pope fled, and was not missed. His return was, indeed, formally asked for; but a republic was organized without him, and, for the first time, the Romans

\* One of the most melancholy features of Mazzini's history is the mistrust, and even hatred, he displays toward the moderate party, whose sincerity and capacity he seems entirely unable to admit. It is an ill omen for the Italian cause when a man like Mazzini is unable to appreciate a man like Azeglio.

had a glimpse of what good government might be. It was reserved for a foreign, a friendly, and a republican government again to interfere, and deprive a people of the opportunity of showing how well they could use, and how well they had deserved, their freedom. France, which had just chased away their own sovereign, which had just established her own republic, which had just proclaimed the inalienable right of every nation to choose its own rulers, and work out its own emancipation—France was not ashamed to interfere to crush a sister democracy, on the most flimsy, transparent, and inadequate pretext ever urged to palliate a flagrant crime. France, noted throughout the world as the least religious nation in Christendom, was not ashamed to be made the instrument of replacing on the necks of a free people the yoke of the worst despotisms of mind and body that Christendom ever saw. France, with her forty million of people and her army of five hundred thousand men, was not ashamed to attack a state only just emerged from slavery, and a city garrisoned only by a few thousand untrained and inexperienced soldiers, and was kept at bay for weeks. The nineteenth century has recorded no blacker deed within its annals! The recording angel of the French nation, in all her stained and chequered history, has chronicled nothing worse!

Hungary and Rome, then, had cast of the yoke by their own unaided efforts; and their masters, by their own unaided efforts, were powerless to replace it. If the revolutionary years had brought to light no other fact, this alone would have been worth all their turmoil and their bloodshed. The sovereigns of these people at least reign only by the intervention of foreign mercenaries. The pope is a French consul; and the Emperor of Austria is a vassal who does homage for his territories to the Czar of Russia. The people are no longer slaves to their own rulers, whom they had conquered and expelled. They are simply prisoners of war to a foreign potentate.

The condition of things in France is surely matter for



wonder as well as condemnation. The empire of Napoleon was a despotism in its worst dress—bristling and threatening with bayonets. Intellect was proscribed. The lives and the property of millions were at the disposal of one man; but that man was the “greatest genius of modern times—unequalled as a warrior and great as a statesman.” His head was surrounded with the glory of a hundred victories; and though he at one time had France at his feet, he extended her power throughout Europe, and gave her many beneficial institutions. At present, Frenchmen are enslaved by a man without talents for war or government, and only remarkable for a daring and selfish ambition. That such a man as Louis Napoleon Bonaparte should be despotic in a country possessing so much genius, science, art and valour, is astonishing. The greatest men of France are in exile, while the citizens speak and act with the fear of a dungeon constantly before their eyes. Can we believe that Bonaparte is the free choice of nearly seven million Frenchmen, as the election returns say? If so, where is the necessity of such an enormous military force being kept on the alert, and of such a strict proscription of all discussion? The idea is preposterous. The government is one of force and violence, and is only tolerated for the time, because the people are tired of political excitement, and wish for a period of repose. During this time, we must believe, the masses will recruit their strength, and then hurl the selfish and perjured tyrant from the chair of state, and give the death blow to all hereditary monarchical notions. Bonaparte, in pursuit of the object of his ambition, violated a solemn oath, and caused the death of hundreds of citizens; yet the clergy—the men of peace—came forward immediately after the *coup d'état* and expressed their approval of it. When it is considered that the fall of Louis Napoleon would be the fall of Pius IX., and the triumph of the republicans of France the triumph of the republicans of Italy, this course of action will not remain unexplained. But surely such usurpation and tyranny are monstrous wrongs, and unworthy of the sanction of really

good and wise men. What was the object of the *coup d'état*? What, but the gratification of a selfish desire for power which has ever burned in the breast of Louis Napoleon. Other objects may be put forth to dazzle or to divert, but the pursuit of the one mentioned above is the prominent feature of the usurper's career, and cannot be mistaken. France will not, cannot submit to this outrageous state of things for any great length of time. She will awake, and her waking will be terrible.

The grand effect of the revolutionary period was the extension of the power of Russia—that modern Rome, which threatens to overwhelm the eastern world. All the continental powers have been brought into such a state as to feel, at every turn, the influence of Russia, so as to be forced to subserve her interests.

The only clear-sighted politicians throughout the revolutionary struggle, with the exception of the cabinet of St. Petersburg, were the Poles—for the simple reason, that their position shut them up to the course which time is demonstrating as the only one that can give emancipation to Europe. The Poles, in all the part they have taken in the insurrections of Europe, with the exception of a small party of doctrinaires, headed by Prince Czartorisky, have pursued only one course—their steady and avowed object being the destruction of the Austrian monarchy. It was on this point that they disagreed with the Sclavonian Congress at Prague, and, separating their cause from that of the Tzcheks and Croats, joined the Hungarians. In reading the articles of the leading Polish journals during the struggle, it is astonishing to see the prophetic clearness with which they point to the probable issue of the movement, even so early as October, 1848; while other parties, amid the whirl of their passions, or the fascination of their theories, were losing all trace as to the real connection of affairs. In the month in which the *Slawische Centralblätter* (Oct. 13) commented on the fall of Vienna in such language as the following—"The avenging Nemesis has crushed whosoever has ventured to

lift up his hand against Slavonic liberty,"—the *Gazeta Polska* the central paper of the Poles, expressed itself, even before the fate of Vienna was decided, in much wiser terms:—"The Viennese," says this journal, "are mistaken in holding up as they do the banner of radicalism with one hand, and the unity of the Austrian empire with the other. The two things are in absolute antagonism, and can never be made to unite. But not less mistaken are the Austrian Slaves in endeavouring to retain that tottering fabric in their interest. Woe to Austria! We predict this, whether Vienna be conqueror or conquered. Victory on the part of the Viennese will be followed by a war in Bohemia, a war with the south Slaves, and perhaps even with the Tyrolese; by a second revolution in Venice and Lombardy—in short, by a civil war, and that war a war of race over the whole empire. Such an opportunity no nation earnest in the strife of liberty should allow to pass. Victory on the part of the emperor will be followed by a war with the Magyars, by an ascendancy of the Slaves, and a temporary reaction. But the more violent the latter shall be, the more determined and powerful will be the revolution called forth by it. In all this it is a singular part that is played by the Slaves. They step forward as supporters of the throne—as champions for the rights of the emperor. Jellachich hastens with his Croats to Vienna; the Lipa Slowanska, and the students of Prague, call upon the Bohemians to march against Vienna; the Tzchec-deputies (Slavonians) leave their seats, and declare the diet illegal and revolutionary. Do the Croats act thus because they have a great affection for absolutism? Do the Lipa Slowanska and the Tzchec-deputies act thus because of their strong anti-democratic convictions? Certainly not—inasmuch as absolutism has been to this moment the cause of all their misfortunes and wrongs. We cannot agree with them—we cannot praise them; but in place of blindly condemning them, we must try to understand their position. They see only the one side of the *solidarité*—the point between Vienna and Frankfort; and Frankfort is for Bohemia precisely what it is for us Poles in

the grand-duchy of Posen—the destruction of nationality, the triumph of Wuttke, and such people, who lay claim to Prague as one of the oldest German towns. At this moment, the Tzchees see in the Austrian emperor, not their own absolute master, but the enemy of the Magyars and the enemy of Frankfort, and they are allied to him by the same ties of interest. To retain possession of Hungary he must subdue the Magyars, and to subdue the Magyars, must be to deliver such Slavonians as are subject to the Magyar power, to organize the three southern Slavonian kingdoms, to render them independent of the Magyar dominion, and to secure an equality of rights to those Slovaks whom the Magyars have so long held in subjection. Let the saving of the imperial power be the work of the Slavonians, against the will of the Germans, and that power can no longer rest on a German basis, but must rest on that to which it has now betaken itself—viz., the Slavonian. Such is the calculation of the Slavonians—but, simple as it appears, it may deceive them. Having once become the instrument of a foreign will, they will find it no easy matter to emancipate themselves from that power. If absolutism should triumph, and should gather new force by the war, it will soon turn that force against the men, whom it knows only as uncertain friends for the present, and as certain enemies for the future. It will prosecute its own schemes, without the least care about the interests of those who, assisting them for a while, were only aiming through that medium to serve their own purposes. Austria is German by its origin, and is now much too old to change its nature, and become an ally of the Slavonians.”

This is sagacious and powerful writing, it was published early in October, 1848, before Windischgratz had captured Vienna. The passage shows that both the Poles and the Magyars have a vital interest in the unity of Germany, provided it can be brought about by a wiser course than that pursued at Frankfort, which, if it had been successful, would have ended in setting up a colossal central power, that would have laid its unnatural and heavy yoke on something like

half the princes and peoples of Europe. By dissolving Austria and Prussia, and combining the German provinces included in those monarchies in one great confederation, Hungary would have been left to settle her own affairs, after the manner most congenial to her. The Magyars, who had done so much in the direction of freedom and equality before the revolution of February, would have done more in the new circumstances which followed, and would probably have retained a constitutional monarchy, which we can regard as being quite as much in its place in Hungary, England, and it may be in Poland, as it would be out of place in Germany, France, or Italy. With regard to the Poles, the portion of their territory included in Prussia and Austria being set free, and it being the interest both of the Magyar and German states that Russia should not be allowed to take possession of them, the natural consequence would have been a reconstruction of Poland.

The great object of the Russian policy is the quiet and safe occupation of Constantinople. Gaining that point, not only the Austrian empire and Asia Minor would be in its power, but the Mediterranean and Persia. The German and Hungarian parts of Austria form a comparatively feeble enclosure between the Slavonians of the north, including the Tzchecks and Slowacks, and those of the south, including the Illyrians, Croats, and Servians. The latter are not only of the same general race, but of the same tribe and religion, with the greater part of the inhabitants of Turkey. Were Russia to come into possession of that country, it would be her policy, as in all such cases, to excite the national and the religious fanaticism of the peasantry—each of whom has a portrait of the Czar and of St. Nicholas in his room—to to such an extent as to cause a war of extermination against the other two races; which would issue in the interference of Russia, and the final incorporation of Austria as a part of her domain. In this manner, Russian diplomacy spreads its network from the centre of Europe to the centre of Asia. Many authentic documents, well known to men who take an

interest in general politics, place it beyond doubt that such are the designs of Russia.

The Russian policy in pursuit of this object has ever been, not only to generate strife between government and government, but between peoples bordering upon each other, and even between people in the same territory; the intention being to produce such entanglement and weakness as may afford plea or occasion for executing its own plans of encroachment. In this manner the Russians have advanced step by step since the commencement of the present century, in spite of remonstrances, and even threats, from other governments—from England among the rest. To such remonstrances, as proceeding from England, Count Nesselrode has always answered, and no doubt always will answer, in the language of a most friendly and ready submission to everything reasonable, but without any thought of cutting the nook in a single instance so as to lose hold on his coveted prey.

On the fall of Napoleon, the war period was succeeded by the diplomatic period, and from that time the Russian cabinet began to spread its intrigues through Italy, in such a manner as to give the Austrians, the French, and the English enough to do to sustain their respective influences there. Austria especially might well complain of what she has suffered from this cause. Russia has given its secret aid to conspiracies and disaffections of all sorts, both among Italians and Germans, that the resources of the governments affected by them might be consumed in the precautions deemed necessary to provide against them. Not, of course, that the Russian cabinet has any sympathy with professions of liberalism, either by small princes, or by oppressed peoples; or that the Carbonari of Italy, or their brother conspirators, the *Burschenschaft* of Germany, were people of the sort that Nicholas would be disposed to favour as his own subjects. But it might be the tendency of any or of all these agencies to weaken his neighbours, and his own strength would grow by that weakness. While, for this high-minded purpose, governments were to be set against governments, and the dis-

affections between the ruling and the ruled were to be fanned into a flame, all Germany was to be kept in a state of morbid fear and hatred against France, so as occasionally to force both nations into costly preparations for war. With a refinement in artifice worthy of Machiavelli, the selfishness of the German princes, the peculiarities of the German character, the vanities of different nations and communities, all were wrought upon, partly by securing the services of their most talented authors, and partly by means of documents addressed directly to the different governments, setting forth with great skill the dangers said to be looming in the distance from the democratic spirit of France and England.

One document of this description has been recently published, and a passage from it will suggest what we wish our readers to apprehend:—"We may take into consideration," says this authority, "the case of Germany, as subdued in a war against France and England. In this most mournful event the German governments whose possessions are on the left and right bank of the Rhine would find themselves compelled to make common cause with France against Eastern Germany, aiding to force the latter to a disastrous peace, which would probably indemnify France by surrendering to her the whole left bank of the Rhine, and by ceding much, especially great commercial advantages, to England. But however melancholy such a reverse of things would be to Germany, this kind of loss would not admit of comparison with the fearful consequences which the triumph of French and English constitutional principles would bring along with it, in respect to the German confederation and the separate States of the Union." Then follows a picture dark and terrible in its colouring, of the horrors that must ensue from this possible ascendancy of the French or the English constitutionalism.

We look over the surface of a large portion of Europe, and, calling to mind its ancient glories, we are naturally led to ask—and is there no hope? The Mediterranean—the sea which was once, as its name imports, encircled by nearly all that was

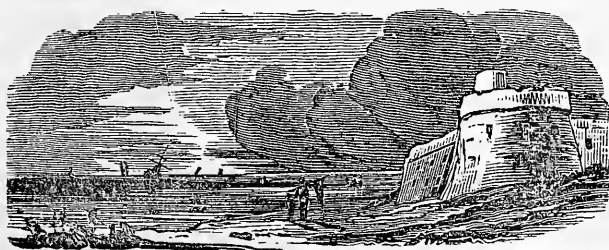
known as the civilized world—the noble countries that still border upon its waters, how like an exhausted soil that has been worked until it will yield no more fruit do they seem! And is there no new process of political and moral husbandry that may be brought successfully to bear upon them? We dare not suppose that. Europe is not, like Asia, shut up to one form of development—to one round of social existence. Her history has not been thus. Come into new culture and into new fruitfulness she will, and we are only solicitous to discern, if possible, what this new culture will be, that we may do something, however small, toward speeding the flow in that direction. Every day the struggle is verging itself more and more into the narrow compass of three words—“MONARCHIES *versus* NATIONALITIES.”

So long as the present monarchies exist they must be great military monarchies. The sovereign will not surrender his command of the huge forces at his disposal. His plea about the national safety on the one side, will be placed over against all that may be said about dangers to the national liberty on the other. But retaining this power, he retains the power wherewith it will be easy to “bring back everything” at one time, that may have been ceded at another. Monarchy, so conditioned, may yield for the moment to external pressure; but it is in its nature that it should rebound at the first favourable juncture—and even that it should create such junctures, if they should seem to be slow in coming. We say again, that the maxim—NO FAITH WITH SUBJECTS—has been preached so unblushingly before all Europe that it cannot be forgotten. Hence the alternative now in the distance has come to be—either a military tyranny more degrading and terrible than European civilization has yet known; or such a return to nationality as shall give to the peoples of Europe the ultimate power, not merely in respect of legislation, but in respect to the executive—such power as will, in effect, secure that the military force sustained at the public cost shall not be exercised in ways contrary to the public will. To these conditions the present leading sovereigns will not



submit; and inasmuch as these monarchies will never consent to exist in this state of weakness, and inasmuch as the people dare not again trust them with their former powers, the nature of the war that has become inevitable must be patent to every man.

We are not inobservant of the talk of many of our "Peace Society" friends. But in our grave judgment the tendencies of not a little of that talk are anything but wise, anything but humane. We have a deep horror of war—of the war which destroys by the sword. But we have a deeper horror still of the war that destroys by the many thousand forms of lingering death that are ever taking place beneath the dark wings of the demon of absolutism. To die in the battle-field may be terrible—to die in the night, and loneliness, and foulness of the dungeon is a thousandfold more terrible. We lament that thousands should perish as seamen or soldiers; but we lament with a sadder grief that millions should be dwarfed in mind, corrupted in heart, thrust down from their places as men, to be used up as so much material—and all that a certain family may rule, or that some chance possessor of power may continue to possess it. Absolutism is the Upas tree of mind. It inverts every principle of morals. It knows nothing of religion except as an engine of state. Man ceases to be man as subject to its pressure. We have no wish to see the world at the bidding of such masters. The cost must be great that should not be freely incurred to place it in other hands. To bear with absolutism, wherever it can be put down, is to be false to humanity and to God.





Statue of Peter the Great at St. Petersburg.

## CHAPTER XI.

THE PEOPLE OF EUROPE—THEIR COUNTRIES, CLASSES, CUSTOMS,  
AND INSTITUTIONS.

### Russia.

It may be said that Russia, by arts and arms, has attained the position of the dominant power in Europe; and therefore, in giving an account of the masses of that quarter of the world, we shall begin with the people included within the limits of her vast empire. The total area of the Russian dominions is estimated at not less than 8,552,700 square miles, within which are found about 67,000,000 inhabitants. European Russia extends from the Arctic ocean to the Black Sea and Caucasus mountains, and from Hungary to the Ural mountains, containing all the *materiel* and naval and military advantages necessary for the support of a great empire.

The surface of the Russian territory is the most level of any in Europe. That great tract of low land, which begins in northern Germany, expands in Russia to its greatest breadth, exceeding twelve hundred miles. A great portion, in the south especially, consists of those immense levels called *steppes*, over which the eye may range for hundreds of miles without meeting a hill; only some large ancient tumuli occasionally diversify their surface. They terminate only at the long chain of the Urals, which, rising like a wall, separates them from the equally vast plains of Siberia. The Urals are scarcely known, unless where the road to Asia passes over them: there they are neither very lofty nor very steep, but well wooded, and rich in minerals, especially on the Asiatic side. The mountains of Olonetz, on the north, appear to be a prolongation of those of Sweden; while, on the extreme south, the Crimea displays some steep and picturesque, though not very lofty, ranges.

The rivers of Russia are of the first magnitude; though the distant and insulated seas in which they terminate, incalculably diminish their commercial importance. The Volga is the greatest river of the empire and of Europe. It rises in the frontier of Novogorod, not far from the Baltic, and traverses in a S. E. line all the central provinces. After receiving from the Asiatic side the Kama, its greatest tributary, it flows chiefly S. S. E., forming the boundary of Europe and Asia, till, after a course of about twenty-seven hundred miles, it opens by numerous mouths into the Caspian near Astrachan. Large and broad streams, spreading over the southern plains, slowly make their way to the Black Sea. Of these the chief are the Dnieper, celebrated under the name of Borysthenes; the Don, or Tanaïs, one of the boundaries of Europe; and the smaller eastern stream of the Dniester. The Dwina, rising from a source not far distant from that of the Borysthenes, rolls a broad navigable stream toward the Baltic. Another Dwina, in the north, flows toward Archangel; and during that brief portion of the year when it is free from ice, conveys to that remote haven the commodities

of a wide extent of country. Lakes are not very characteristic of Russia ; yet those of Ladoga and Onega, in the north, are several hundred miles in circumference, and form a sort of continuation of the Gulf of Finland. Finland also is covered with numerous winding lakes, of varied form and dimensions ; but all these, surrounded by flat and bleak shores and frozen plains, present little that is striking in point of scenery, and afford few facilities for internal intercourse. The forests are very extensive and there are valuable mines in various parts of the country.

The civil and religious institutions of Russia colour the character of the people.

The government of Russia is despotism, under which the knout is administered even to nobles of the highest rank who may have incurred the displeasure of the sovereign. The emperors have, indeed, endeavoured in some degree to mitigate this absolute power, and have even formed a directing senate of sixty-two members, divided into departments ; but this body is entirely composed of individuals nominated by the monarch, and serves little other purpose than that of promulgating his *ukases* or decrees. It is believed, indeed, to have sanctioned the murders of unpopular or weak sovereigns, which have so frequently stained the Russian annals ; and which have been conducted with a secrecy, and been followed by an exemption from punishment, which shows that they had been approved by the principal persons in the state. There are also hereditary nobles, who possess immense estates, estimated not by the amount of lands or rents, but by the number of slaves ; yet the titles conferred and recognised by the government are all military. The ranks of colonel and major-general are conferred, in a manner purely honorary, upon professors, and even ladies, as the only mode of raising them in the scale of society. Justice is administered with considerable care : conjointly with the judges are appointed assessors, who must be of the same rank as the person tried, and thus somewhat resemble our jury ; but a general corruption, the inevitable fruit of despotism, and of the



Punishment of Female with Knout.



Kibitka, or Russian Sleigh.

inadequate payment of the functionaries, is alleged to pervade this, and, indeed, all the official departments. It is not, however, to be denied that the views of the supreme government have, for the most part, been highly liberal, warmly devoted to the improvement of the empire, and to the moral exaltation of its people among the civilized nations of Europe.

The religion of Russia, so far as relates to establishment, is that of the Greek church, which is professed with many superstitious observances. The worship of images is carried to a great extent, though the letter of the scriptural prohibition is sought to be evaded by having only the drapery in relief, and the face flat and painted. With these representations, not only the churches are filled, but every serf has one in his cottage, to which he pays sundry and uncouth acts of obeisance. Fasts are frequent, long, and rigidly observed; but at the festivals they indemnify themselves by an excess of eating, which not unfrequently proves fatal. In no cities, perhaps, are religious ceremonies and processions celebrated with such pomps as at Petersburg and Moscow. The long trains and gorgeous robes of the priests, the glittering insignia waved over them, the blaze of thousands of tapers, and the innumerable crowds of assembled devotees, are said to eclipse every scene of similar splendour in Spain and Italy. The festival of the resurrection is the most splendid; and next to it those on the two, certainly natural, occasions, the breaking of the ice on the Neva, and the first springing up of verdure from the long-frozen earth. Russia had once a patriarch, almost equal in power to the Catholic pope: but Peter, jealous of his functions, assumed them to himself; and his successors have ever since exercised them. The parish priests have slender incomes, eked out by fees; they are ignorant, vulgar, and belong almost to the lowest class of society. They amuse the people with shows and observances, but seem scarcely capable of communicating to them any moral or spiritual ideas. Instead, however, of being bound to celibacy, they are laid under an obligation to marry; in

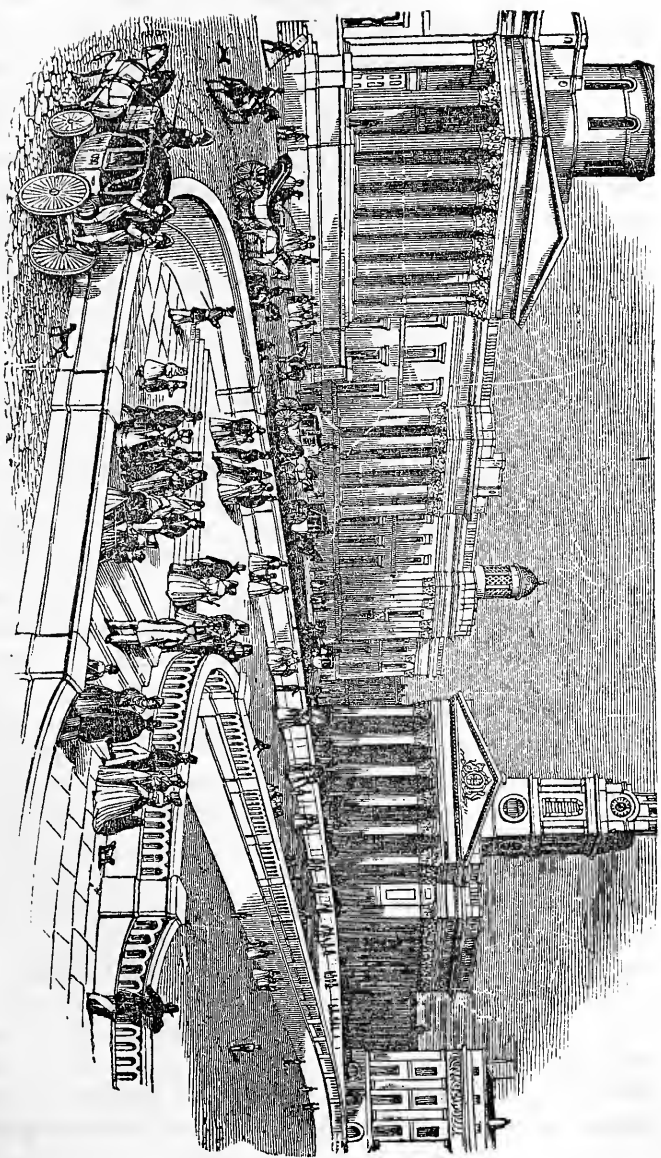
the hope, it is said, of rendering their conduct more regular, but without always securing that result. The higher orders of clergy are all monks, well endowed, living usually retired and regular lives, and often possessed of considerable learning; but they come little in contact with the body of the nation. The Lutherans are nearly confined to Finland and Livonia. The Crimea, and some other southern districts, are Mohammedan. The Catholics and Unitarian Greeks are nearly confined to the Polish provinces. The Russian government professes, and generally administers an absolute toleration, and even equality of rights among the different religious professions: yet the caprice of despotism sometimes issues very tyrannical mandates. Such was the one prohibiting the Jews from exercising any of the trades by which they have hitherto gained a subsistence, and enjoining them to apply solely to agriculture, which they had always shunned; and another, by which they were banished from both the capitals.

The basis of the great population is entirely Slavonic; a race distinguished by a peculiar language; by a patient, hardy, obstinate, and enduring character; by a very limited extent of intellectual culture, and of the characteristics which raise man above the brute. This last deficiency, however, we should be very little disposed to regard as the fixed doom of any particular race of men. It appears the consequence of long ages of bondage and oppression, and of the insulated position of this people in the heart of these immense steppes and deserts; removed from all the impulses which have rendered the western nations so enlightened and energetic. There are about three millions of the Finnish race, occupying the acquired provinces of Livonia, Esthonia, and Finland, the shores of the Northern Ocean, and some tracts along the borders of Asia. Tartars also inhabit the Crimea, and have penetrated into some of the southern steppes. The great body of the nation is divided, without medium or gradation, into the distant classes of nobles and slaves. The few who struggle between these opposite extremes are insulated and

unprotected individuals, who can scarcely attain a place or character in society.

The nobles are the body chiefly acted upon by that forced and imported civilization, by which Peter sought to convert the nation at once from the depth of barbarism to the highest pitch of refinement. In fact, as to outward aspect and manners, this body, especially that great proportion who have travelled, are scarcely to be distinguished from the most brilliant society of the western courts; and among the number are included many well-informed, intelligent, and liberal individuals. Their cultivation, both as to manners and intellect, is principally derived from France, whose language is almost exclusively spoken at court, and whose writers alone are generally read; but the gay polish of French manners harmonizes ill with the remnants of Muscovite rudeness. Many of the nobles boast a high descent, tracing their origin even to Ruric; a claim not admitted by the court, which studies to merge all distinction in military rank, real or fictitious. Their fortunes are in some cases truly enormous, especially when compared with the cheapness of provisions. The head of the Scheremetov family, reckoned the richest, is said to have 125,000 slaves, estimated at 150 rubles each. The nobles generally spend these estates in profuse and ostentatious hospitality; combining, though not very tastefully, the open house of the feudal baron with the elegance and splendour of Parisian luxury. Dr. Clarke and Dr. Lyall remark a feature which belongs to the dark ages of British civilization. The gradations of rank are observed not only in the places assigned at these long tables, but in the viands placed before them; so that, while the guests near the master of the house are regaled on sturgeon and champagne, those toward the lower end partake of *sauer kraut* and black cabbage broth; nor can a guest, without the violation of all propriety, solicit food that does not belong to his station. An immense household of servants, amounting in country residences not unfrequently to five or six hundred, and an extraordinary profusion of silver plate, are the two reigning





Grand Canal, St. Petersburg.

points of magnificence; but, unluckily, these luxuries are often alloyed by some failure as to cleanliness, both of person, furniture, and dishes. What is worse, an absence is in many instances observable of that nice sense of honour which forms the pride of English aristocracy. It was under Peter I. that Prince Menzikoff and the governor of Ingria were whipped for peculation; but it is said that the difficulties in which the profuse expenditure of the Russian nobles often involves them, are still sometimes met by expedients which we should consider as quite incompatible with the character of a gentleman. However, they have entirely renounced the national habits of intoxication, originally so strong, that Peter the Great deemed it necessary to prohibit ladies from getting drunk at a ball, but durst only fix for gentlemen a limitation as to time. We wish it could be added that ladies of rank were equally distinguished for their domestic and conjugal virtues; of which, indeed, some bright examples may be found; but the French modes of life, and the dreadful examples set by Elizabeth, Catherine, and other empresses, have found but too many imitators, and have rendered manners, in this respect, looser than in any other European court.

The slaves, the other dire extreme of Russian society, form still the great mass of the people. The peasants of the crown amount to about 17,700,000; those of private individuals to about 21,000,000; in all, 38,500,000. This class is divested of every right, political and personal, scarcely excepting that of life. The master has the full power of the scourge, which is liberally exercised, and of every other corporal punishment which does not produce death in twenty-four hours. There is, indeed, a law by which the master may in that case, be brought to justice; and there are marshals' courts, to which, in certain cases, the slave may appeal; but these means of redress are practically very precarious. The crown has done every thing in its power to forward emancipation; but as it never has ventured upon compulsory statutes, and as the nobility remain rootedly attached to the

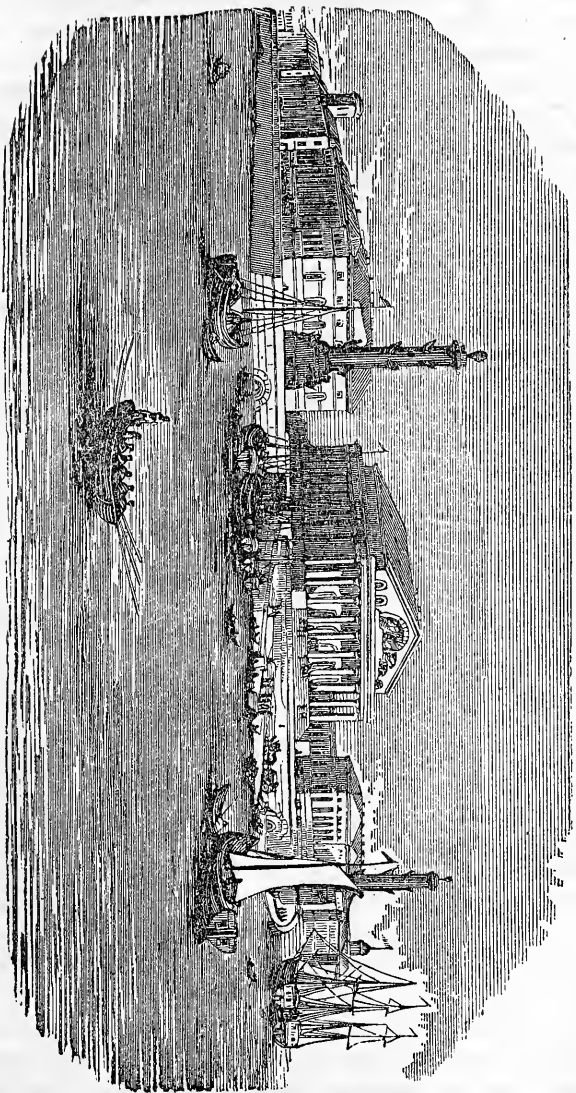


Russians.

*good old* system, little impression has been made on the great mass of bondage. The slaves, however, are not so severely oppressed as in the West Indies. They are not under the daily whip of a taskmaster. The cultivating peasant has a spot of land, for which he pays *obrok* or rent, which is apt, indeed, to be unreasonably screwed up by a necessitous landlord; but otherwise he labours and earns for himself. Some villages have even raised large sums to relieve an esteemed master from the pressure of necessities which would have obliged him to sell his estate, and transfer them to another proprietor. Those who, on payment of personal *obrok*, practice trades in cities, often attain to opulence; a slave of Count Scheremetov is mentioned as carrying on a manufactory that employed four thousand persons; and a slave of Count Strogonov constructed the Kasan church, the finest in the capital. Still all the profits earned by the slave belong

by law to the master; but public opinion has established such a bar against his taking more than a proportion, that it happens only in a very few instances. A certain moral degradation is almost inevitably entailed on their unfortunate destiny. A profound craft, a sulky obstinacy, a studious concealment of every quality and possession of which their master could avail himself, are habits natural to the slave. He shows, however, a stubborn acquiescence, which somewhat resembles contentment; an untameable passive courage, and a constant thoughtless cheerfulness and good humour. The Russian slaves have a surprising talent at imitation, common among enslaved and uncultivated minds. The master distributes household employments among numerous slaves, without any consideration of natural talent, or almost any instruction, except the cudgel; yet the functions of each are executed with a surprising degree of correctness. From the period of their subjection by the Tartars, they have retained some oriental habits; of these the most remarkable is the use of the vapour bath, which, under some form, is a necessary appendage to every village, even under the frozen climate of Archangel. It is considered as equally conducive to pleasure and to health; and even in the farthest north, the delight of the bathers is to come out reeking hot, and roll themselves in the snow; which process, instead of killing them, is said materially to invigorate the frame.

The Russian habitations so far as relates to the palaces of the nobility, and to the public buildings, which are all erected by the crown, are formed on the model of the rest of Europe, and display a magnificence elsewhere unrivalled. All the others are miserable in the extreme, calling to mind the first rude efforts of man after he came out from the hollow of the oak. They consist merely of the trunks of trees; not even formed into logs, the interstices filled with moss and clay, and the light usually admitted by square open crannies; thus they resemble casual piles of timber rather than human dwellings. Hence the chronicles use the expression "cutting a town," because the felling of the timber is the only arduous part of the process.



The Exchange, St. Petersburg.

The national amusements are chiefly those afforded by the ice; for here, as all over the north, the gayest season is when its impenetrable surface covers all the earth and the waters. The Neva is entirely occupied by parties skating, running, sledge-races, and enjoying other sports of the season. A favourite diversion is afforded by the ice-hills, on whose sides are formed steep inclined planes, down which the adventurer throws himself, seated on a machine, which he guides with surprising skill. Swinging is another Russian diversion; to which may be added the common ones of dancing, and of a national music, which, with the songs and ballads to which it is sung, is very plaintive and pleasing.

The national dress of Russia consists of a long coat reaching to the calves of the legs, with numerous tucks at the bottom of the waist; a vest of coloured linen, leaving the neck bare; thin boots, or shoes, of the bark of the linden. In winter, a sheepskin pelise is substituted for the coat. The dress of the higher ranks is now formed studiously on the European model, though no other part of Europe can rival the gorgeous robes worn by the nobles and bishops on public occasions, or the profusion of diamonds which covers their persons, making them appear all in a blaze.

The staple food of the Russian peasant consists of black rye bread and cabbage broth, thickened with oatmeal, which Dr. Clarke mentions with horror, but which, according to Dr. Lyall, may be made far from unpalatable; sometimes salted or frozen fish. The standing drink is their favourite *quass*, made by pouring warm water on rye or barley-meal. The rich cover their tables with French wines and the most delicate dishes, among which sterlet from the Volga, and veal from Archangel, are highly valued. The preliminary use of salt fish, cheese, and brandy, as a whet, is as general here as in Scandinavia.

We shall now proceed to speak of the distinctive characteristics of the people of the different provinces of Russia. Finland, a recent ill-acquired possession, seems now finally united to the great empire.

The Fins are still attached to Sweden; but, being well treated, their trade protected, and their national customs respected, they acquiesce with tolerable patience. The country is almost a counterpart of Sweden; "a succession of hill and dale, abounding in forests of fir and beech, interspersed with numerous lakes, and thickly overspread with shattered fragments of granite." During the winter it is covered with a hard uniform surface of snow and ice, in which the roads are marked by boughs of fir laid along them. The Gulf of Bothnia, between Finland and Sweden, is then entirely frozen over, and sledges drive across it, beating for themselves a smooth and hard road, which is only a little dangerous at the commencement and close of the season. The Fins are a race by themselves, and speak a language which is quite distinct from that of any of their neighbours, and seems to be in its origin Asiatic. They are on the whole a patient, laborious, well-disposed people.

White or Malo-Russia, called also the Ukraine, has undergone various revolutions. It was the centre of Russia as first known to the Greeks, when Kiev, its capital, was boasted as a rival to Constantinople. It passed then through the hands of the Tartars and the Poles, till the conquering arms of Russia again reunited it, but as an appendant province. The Malo-Russians are a distinct race, decidedly superior to the Red Russians. They excel them, according to Dr. Clarke, in every thing that can exalt one class of men above another: industry, honesty, courtesy, cleanliness, neatness. Their houses are carefully whitewashed, the interior well-furnished, and nicely clean. Malo-Russia is one extensive and fertile plain, not so ill cultivated as the rest of the empire, and therefore more populous.

But the Cossacks have a high military reputation, and form the irregular part of the Russian army. These inhabitants of certain steppes or plains, chiefly on the borders of the Russian empire, are easily distinguished as a race possessing a degree of constitutional liberty and independence; accustomed to dwell remote, as it were, from civilization, in

vast and desert districts; and habituated to constant warfare of some sort or other. They are governed partly by their own laws, and enjoy peculiar privileges and exemptions in considerations of military services, which they are obliged to render to the state when called upon. At such times they appear fully equipped and mounted at their own expense; but obtain from government a trifling maintenance, in common with the other Russian soldiers, during the period of actual service. At the termination of the war, or when their assistance is no longer necessary, they return to their homes; and, from being the ruthless Scythian and devastating invader, the Cossack becomes the unoffending, honest, and hospitable inhabitant, and again resumes his various occupations in agriculture and commerce.

There are several tribes or denominations of this species of force, such, for instance, as the Cossacks of the Bug, of Tschuguyef, of the Don, of Tchernomorski, formerly the Zaporagian Cossacks, the Uralian, formerly the Yaick Cossacks, and the Calmucks of Stawropol; and each tribe is governed by its respective Ataman or commander-in-chief, and officers chosen from among themselves, who are all obliged to pass regularly through the different gradations of military rank, from that of private. These different tribes were, it was calculated, at the close of the late war with France, capable of bringing into the field an aggregate of no less than a hundred and seventeen thousand warriors. Thus it will be seen of what vast consequence they are to the Russian empire, and the necessity there exists for keeping up a good understanding with them, and securing their allegiance.

It was not until about the time of Catherine II., that attempts were made to organize the Cossacks. Both Prince Potemkin and Souvoroff were extremely attached to them, and beloved by them in return; the former more particularly, is reported to have taken considerable pains to improve their condition as soldiers; he formed them into regiments, subjected them to discipline, established among them a certain system, and employed them with great effect in their true





A Cossack.

character of foragers and light troops, for which they seem peculiarly well adapted. Since that period, they have undergone other partial changes in their organization, although they have not yet been brought to act with any degree of regularity.

Under their Ataman Platoff, it is well remembered what wonders they achieved, and of what infinite utility the Cossacks were to the Russians during the continental wars, in covering the front of their army, masking its movements, protecting its flanks, and securing its retreats; in reconnoitring and foraging; in hovering continually about the enemy, harassing him, and cutting off his supplies.

From the natural hardness of constitution both of the Cossacks and their horses, they are enabled to make exertions of an extraordinary nature; and by swimming rivers in the winter time, and making forced marches of considerable length, amid all the rigours of frost and snow, their sudden and unexpected appearance has often baffled the designs and efforts of their opponents. Not only have they performed all these duties, in which no troops equal them, with a perseverance and vigour that is scarcely credible, but they have been known even to charge infantry *en traillieur* in a wood; and in a general action to snatch the palm from the regular forces of Russia, by retrieving the fortune of the day. The losses they occasioned Napoleon in the fields of Poland and Russia, where they were the cause of constant annoyance, havoc, and slaughter, to the French troops, especially during the disastrous retreat from Moscow, can never be forgotten.

The Cossacks of the Don are the most numerous and important of all the tribes; and are distinguished from the rest by greater civilization and industry. Their capital is Novo-Tcherkask, a neat town not far from the Don, near its entrance into the Sea of Asof. They breed great quantities of horses, cattle, and sheep; are cultivators of the vine; fond of agriculture in general; and can furnish a contingent of no fewer than eighty regiments for service from among them. Each regiment consists of five hundred men, having a stand-

ard and captain for every hundred, independent of junior officers, one or two field officers for the whole, according to circumstances, and a lieutenant-colonel, or colonel commandant, whose name the regiment bears. The two corps before Giurgevo were of this tribe; they had served in the war against France, and, together with their chiefs, Rykowsky and Demidoff, had distinguished themselves considerably.

The usual dress or uniform of the Don Cossack is a blue shell jacket, without buttons, but hooked down the front; loose trousers of the same colour, ornamented down the sides with a stripe of red cloth; and a cylindrical calpac, or low forage cap. A short fur cloak, called a burka, made of a peculiar impenetrable skin, is either suspended from his shoulders or carried on the saddle. His weapons are a pistol stuck under each arm, and attached by a neck-line, sufficiently long to admit of their being discharged with an extended arm; a firelock slung across his back; a sabre at his side; and a long, twelve or fourteen foot pike, which is constantly in his hand. He is mounted upon a small, bony, and by no means Bucephalus-like, but certainly hardy, horse, which is guided by a single snaffle, and equipped with a simple wooden saddle-tree, of unusual height, furnished with a leather cushion strapped over it; this cushion forms not only the ordinary seat and pillow of the Cossack, but serves as a depository for his money and valuables. The horse much resembles, in shape and character, the common hack of the Irish peasant, and is urged by a severe whip, something like a flail, called a kandshu, which the rider, who does not wear spurs, generally carries with a loop over his wrist or across his shoulders. Thus dressed, equipped, and mounted, the sturdy warrior of the Don is, on the slightest alarm, instantly ready for the combat.

The kingdom of Kasan forms a semi-Asiatic member of the empire. Down to the sixteenth century it was a Tartar kingdom, held by a branch of the posterity of Zingis; but in 1550 it yielded to the arms of Ivan. The people are still chiefly Tartars, and more civilized than the bulk of that race; culti-



Polish Travellers attacked by Wolves.

vating the ground with diligence, exporting corn, and bestowing still greater attention on their flocks and herds. They also tan, and even embroider leather, and make much soap.

The Baltic provinces of Ingria, Estharia, Livania, and Courland are chiefly inhabited by a people of German origin, who are frugal, industrious, persevering, generally satisfied with the government, and prosperous.

Polish Russia is an extensive tract of country, comprising the sections known as Lithuania, Podlacia, Volhynia, and Podolia. The inhabitants are Catholic Poles and Jews. The latter are the most energetic and prosperous. The Catholic Poles are generally dissatisfied, indolent, poor, and miserable. They never can regard the Russian government with other feelings than those of abhorrence; and as they have no ground to hope for independence, they are content to mutter their imprecations, and enjoy what they may of life. The inhabit-

ants of Old Poland are in the same condition. After their struggle for liberty in 1830-31, their constitution was taken from them, and since they have felt the close gripe of despotism. Even, in 1848 they dared not strike for freedom and independence. In manners and intelligence the Poles are superior to the Russians, but they lack the virtues of steadiness and perseverance. A quick, restless, and quarrelsome spirit is their chief characteristic.

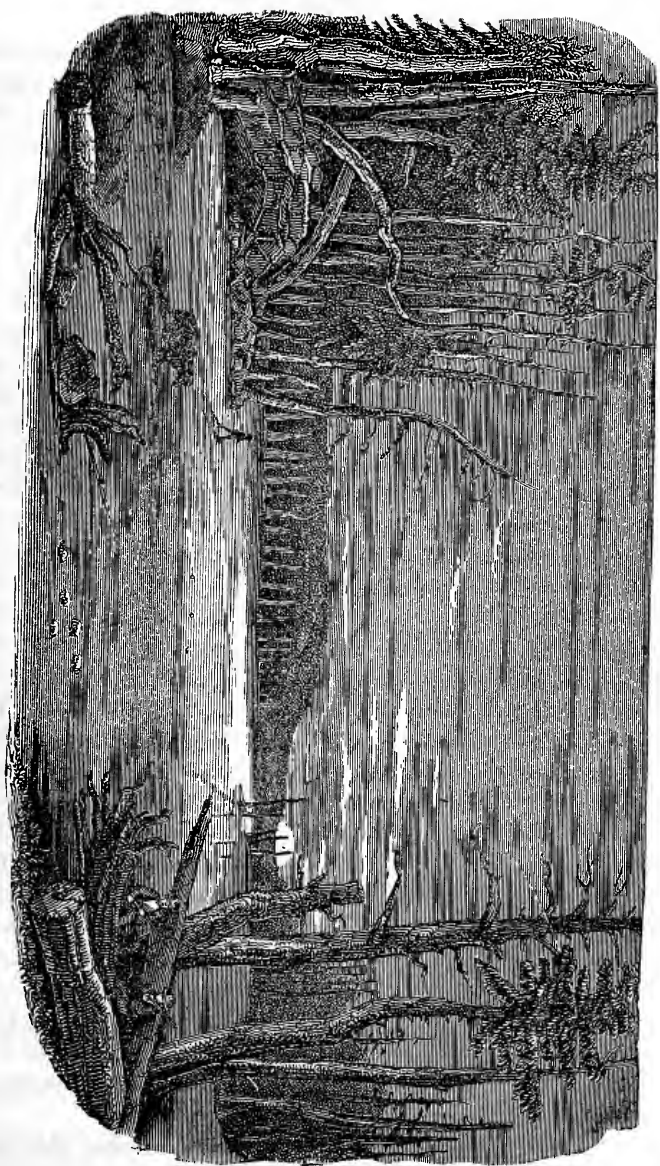
The Caucasian tribes are generally regarded as subjects of the Czar, though they have never been conquered. These bold, determined, and warlike mountaineers have contrived, with forces very much inferior in number, to keep the armies of Russia at bay, and, occasionally, to give them terrible defeats. They are a handsome race, and active, intelligent, frugal, and patient. Their noble struggle for independence has won for them the admiration of the world. Russia has been obliged to concede to them much greater privileges than she has ever permitted her other subjects to enjoy. Feudal notions prevail among the Caucasian tribes, and the conditions of lord and serf are steadily maintained.

The introduction of literature has been an object of anxious concern to the Russian monarchs, who have yet been able to illuminate only partially the night of ignorance in which their vast empire is plunged. The chief scientific glory of Russia arises from the names of Pallas, Gmelin, Euler, Bernoulli, and other German savans, whom the bounty of Catherine induced to form either a permanent, or at least a temporary, residence at Petersburg. French literature, however, has always been the most fashionable in the higher Russian circles; though, with the two exceptions of Grimm and La Harpe, the French savans have in vain been invited to exchange the delights of Paris for the frozen splendour of the northern capital. The Russian is beginning to be a written language: there are said to be now eight thousand works printed in it, which, however, is not very much more than the number annually published in Germany. Lomonosoff and Sumorokoff rank as the greatest Russian poets; and Karam-

sin, by his writings in the different branches of the belles-lettres, has drawn attention even beyond Russia.

The public establishments for science in Russia are highly endowed and patronized. The Academy of Sciences, planned by Peter the Great, was founded by Catherine I., who assigned to it a revenue of five thousand pounds. The society was regulated by the advice of Wolf and Leibnitz; and several of the greatest modern names have adorned its annals. Gmelin, Pallas, and others of its members, have been employed at great expense, in exploring the most distant provinces. The Academy of Arts was founded by Elizabeth, but enlarged by Catherine II., who allowed it twelve thousand pounds of annual revenue, to be employed in supporting three hundred pupils, and in procuring the best models of every kind. The library has never become very extensive, but is rendered curious by the ancient manuscript chronicles; and by a collection of Chinese works, amounting to two thousand eight hundred. The museum has many interesting and peculiar features derived from the mineral products of the empire, particularly a vast mass of native iron found in Siberia; fossil remains of the mammoth and other gigantic animals; the dresses, arms, and implements of the rude nations of Siberia and Tartary; the ornaments found in the tombs of the Altai. The imperial library is also extensive; and a fine cabinet of paintings has been formed by the purchase of the Crozat collection, the Houghton, formed by Sir Robert Walpole, and others of inferior magnitude. The university of Petersburg was founded in 1804, by the Emperor Alexander, and endowed with an income of one hundred and thirty thousand rubles.

St. Petersburg is the centre of Russian splendour and magnificence. In many respects, it is superior to every other European capital, while its circles of nobility and fashion rival those of Paris and London. St. Petersburg is built on islands, which lie among the branches of the river Neva. There are about forty of these islands, five of which are planted with gardens; some have trees and country-houses.



Bear Hunting in Russia.

These are favourite places of amusement for the Russians on their holidays. Some islands are quite desert; bears and wolves are the only living things that find refuge there. The wolves sometimes come across on the ice during the winter, greatly to the alarm of the Russians. The gardens in and near St. Petersburg are beautiful. The soil they are made of is brought from a great distance. Some gardens are made on the tops of houses, the roofs of which are flat. One of the royal palaces, called the Hermitage, has a lovely garden on the roof. Fruit-trees do not thrive in the open air; there are, however, kitchen-gardens for vegetables near St. Petersburg, and numerous hot-houses, which supply the city with pines, melons, and asparagus. Apples are brought two hundred miles; plums and grapes from the south of Russia. Even hay and corn, like every thing else, is brought from a great distance. Meat is fattened on the shores of the Black Sea; butter comes from Finland, and great quantities are consumed. From the Neva being frozen for so many months, the surface presents a gay scene. The populace are amused with swings, roundabouts, and above all by the ice-hills: these are sloping plains of great height, covered by blocks of ice. You ascend by flights of steps at the back. You then get in a low sledge, which is carried down so swiftly, that it ascends the hill on the other side. You can then take your sledge up the next flight of stairs and again descend. All commercial intercourse with other countries is stopped during the winter, so the Russians have time to indulge their natural taste for amusement. The Russians know better than any people how to defend themselves against the cold. On the whole, the winter there is the best season of the year. The cold, when it once sets in, is equal and constant, and it strengthens and braces the body. The poor suffer less from cold than in many warmer climates. Public rooms are kept where they can always go, and large fires are constantly burning in front of the theatres.

Moscow is the only other city in the empire, which can claim attention for the beauty of its buildings and the splen-



dour of portions of its society. Even there, the palace and the hovel are found side by side, fitly representing the condition of the Russian people.

The military force of Russia is the subject of anxiety and terror to Europe; and has, indeed, if official statements may be credited, attained to a most enormous amount. According to them, it rose, in 1820, to no less than 989,000 men, independent of the national guard. The real strength of the Russian army has always consisted, not in its numbers, but in the passive and iron valour of its infantry, and the rapid and skilful movements of its irregular cavalry; the Cossacks, Baschkirs, and other Asiatic nomades. Its field artillery also has commanded the admiration of the best tacticians. It has been boasted, indeed, that the new military colonies, when brought into full operation, will afford a regular supply of three millions of recruits. They consist of the crown peasantry, who are formed into villages, and subjected to strict military discipline. The head colonist, or farmer, receives fifty acres, and a neat house, burdened with the support of a soldier and his horse: these, when not at exercise, or called out into actual service, assist in his agricultural labours. By this means, in 1820, there were organized 48,000 troops in three hundred and eighty-four villages; and it was proposed gradually to extend the system. But, besides that these could never be more than an ill-disciplined militia, their increase is opposed by various obstacles. The crown peasants, whose servitude before was little more than nominal, grievously complain of the present rigorous coercion, and of the burden of supporting a soldier-servant, whose aid is very doubtful, and who is more likely to act as a master. It would be very difficult to insure the submission of these armed colonists; and, at all events, the number who could be marched out of the empire would be limited by the narrow amount of the funds out of which they could be supported.

To render Russia a naval European power, in which character she had no existence at the commencement of the last century, was the object of strenuous effort both to Peter and

Catherine. A navy was accordingly created on the Baltic and Black Sea, which enabled Russia to become predominant in both.

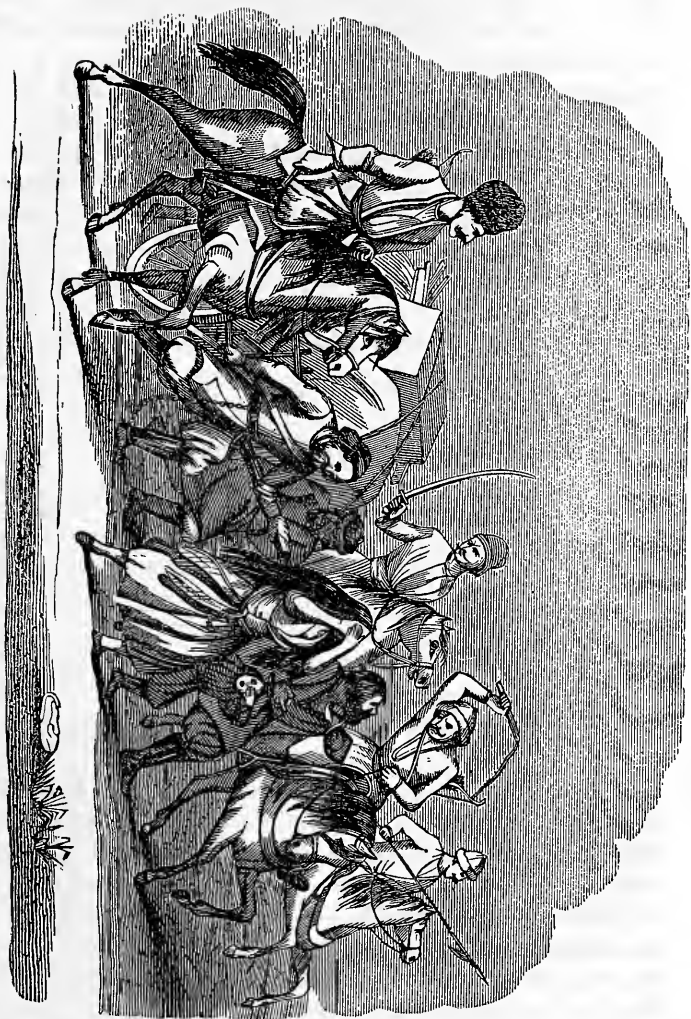
In 1840, the Russian navy consisted of fifty-six ships-of-the-line, varying from seventy-four to one hundred and twenty guns; forty-eight frigates, varying from forty-four to sixty guns, and an adequate number of sloops-of-war, brigs, and steamers.\*

Since 1831, the system of recruiting the army by the conscription, or general levy, prevails again. The sons of tradesmen and peasantry are particularly liable to this levy. The merchants, professors, artists, physicians, civil officers, lawyers, &c. are not liable to the duties of military service. Bondsmen become free as soon as they enter the army. The same rule prevails in regard to the naval service.

The commerce, agriculture, and manufactures of Russia have advanced with magic speed within the last twenty years, under the fostering policy of the government; and at present a vast number of her subjects are engaged in these pursuits. Freedom must extend with commerce, as the history of the world proves; and, therefore, it is a cheering prospect to see so great a number of people, fresh from the depths of barbarism and ignorance, turning their attention to the elevating work of trade.

It is impossible to deny that the present autocrat of the Russian empire is an able and enlightened ruler—one willing to do every thing in his power to elevate his subjects—one worthy of the esteem and affection the Russian people generally profess to hold for him. But while we admire the man, we must condemn the system. All the virtues of Nicholas cannot ward off or correct the evils inherent in absolute rule—the substitution of the changeful will of one man for the wise, steady, and general regulations of a written constitution. Nicholas does not condemn persons to suffer the punishment of the knout or exile in the savage wilds of Siberia without

\* Ungewitter.



Siberian Exiles.

good reason, perhaps. But his successor may, and there is the flaw. A written law would render justice certain. However, the Russian people have made steady advances toward liberal institutions. The terrible oppressions of the nobles have been constantly opposed by the czars, who have aimed to emancipate all the bondsmen. The object is perhaps to strengthen and secure the power of the autocrat. But after the people have been placed, in a great measure, upon an equality, it will become the object of all to restrain the power of the sovereign, and free institutions will be the natural result. This consummation is "most devoutly to be wished," for until it occurs the extension of the dominion of Russia will be synonymous with the extension of despotism, with all its train of horrors.

### Sweden and Norway.

SWEDEN and Norway now form one kingdom, though they have different constitutions and laws. An account of their political system will perhaps enable us to understand why the people of the Scandinavian peninsula were not affected by the revolutions in Europe in 1848.

Sweden embraces the eastern and larger half of the peninsula, and is officially divided into twenty-four counties, styled *Läne*. Yet the ancient division into as many provinces is in substance left unaltered.\*

The constitution of Sweden is one of the few in Europe which has always preserved some portion of that representative system which had been formed in remote ages. Toward the close, indeed, of the last century, it was reduced by Gustavus III. to little more than a form. Bernadotte, however, an elected monarch, without any national claim, was obliged to court the favour of the nation, and, with that view, to re-establish the rights of its national diet. This is now rather an antique and cumbrous form of legislature, consisting of

\* Ungewitter.

four orders; the nobles, the clergy, the peasants, and the burghers; who sit and vote in separate houses.

Of these houses, that of the nobles consists of about twelve hundred members; the head of each family being, by inheritance, its legal representative. They are divided into three classes:—herra, counts, barons, &c.; reddar, knights; and sivena, or gentlemen who, though without any title, have received letters patent of nobility. The house of clergy consists of the archbishop and all the bishops; while the rest of the ecclesiastical body is represented by deputies. The burghers are chosen by the towns, every freeman who pays taxes having a vote: they form an independent body, partly, perhaps, because the honour of a seat is not eagerly contested, The peasants do not exactly correspond to our idea of that term: they consist of a body of little proprietors, or lairds, who cultivate their own ground, and who are numerous in Sweden. Their allowance of a dollar a day is provided by a subscription among their constituents; and, in some cases, two or three districts must combine to furnish out one deputy. The nobles have bestirred themselves much to keep down the attempts made by this class to rise in society. They have procured regulations, according to which no person could sit in the house who allowed himself to be called Herr, (or Mr.) or who wore a coat of fine cloth. Notwithstanding all their efforts, however, this house and that of the burghers are daily increasing in strength.

In the division of powers, the royal prerogative is ample. The king appoints to all offices, civil and military, and he is obliged to convoke the diet only once in five years, and to continue its sittings three months; but he may make the meetings more frequent, and longer. He has also a negative upon the laws proposed by the diet. In regard to the diet itself, the division rests with a majority of the houses; but if they be two against two, the balance is struck by the Committee of State, a body composed of a certain number of members from each. No tax can be levied, or loan obtained, without the consent of the diet

The storting of Norway, restored by Bernadotte, is possessed of much higher privileges than the Swedish diet. It assembles more frequently, and at its own time, without any control from the king; and it allows to him only a suspensive veto, obliging him to accept any project which has been three times presented by the storting. These rights having been once granted, Bernadotte, who found them pressing somewhat hard against his prerogative, made several fruitless attempts to abridge them. Mr. Lloyd, in his Travels, informs us that a highly republican spirit prevails in Norway, and that the influence, and almost existence, of the nobles is nearly annihilated.

The religion of Scandinavia is Lutheran, and the church episcopal. This country, which stood long at the head of the great Protestant confederacy, is animated with an ardent zeal for the reformed religion. The Catholics, till of late, scarcely enjoyed common toleration, and they are still excluded from the diet and the higher offices of State. The Swedish people are commended for their regularity in performing the duties of their religion: at the same time it has been remarked that the dissenters from the established church are much fewer than in other Protestant countries; which has been imputed to the want of any peculiar fervour upon the subject. The wide extent and thin population of the northern districts must often render the provision for their religious instruction very defective. The diocese of Tornea, in Lapland, is seven hundred and fifty miles in circumference; and, what is more blamable, the small number of clergy employed are not required to understand the language of the natives. The income of the largest bishopric in Sweden is only £1000 a year.

Sweden seems doomed by nature to be a poor country. Her most southern districts are beyond the limits of the temperate zone, in which alone the finer and more valuable kinds of grain and the richer fruits come to maturity. Her scanty harvest consists solely of rye, bigg, and oats, scarcely accounted as food in more favoured countries. Scandinavia may be generally described as one unbroken, boundless forest, varied only in aspect by little patches of

cultivated land. The agriculture and manufactures of Sweden are not of much importance; but the commerce, which depends chiefly upon the productions of timber and iron, is extensive and lucrative.

The area of Sweden is estimated at 170,528 square miles, and its population at 3,300,000 inhabitants.\* The great body of the inhabitants of both Sweden and Norway are of the Germanic race. The Swedes are divided into four classes: the nobles, the ecclesiastics, the citizens, and the peasants.

The national character is usually painted under favourable colours. The honesty of the Swede is proverbial; and Dr. Clarke considers the contrast between them and the Russian people, in this respect, as most striking. Highway robbery, though it has been known, is exceedingly rare; and charity boxes, which are often set up on the public roads, have never been plundered. "The nation," says Mr. James, "has its singularities: there exists something of a reciprocity between the moral and political constitution of Sweden. Rigidly ceremonious, they make their stiff and measured courtesies the essential rather than the forms of life; and seem, in a stranger's eye, a people cold in their nature as the very snows they dwell upon. Their characteristics, a passive courage, not unmixed with indolence; a pride not free from ignorance; a disposition that is not ill-humoured, from having no humour at all, from indifference, from apathy. But a Swede is never in extremes; even these traits are not deeply marked; and if we review the more favourable side of his character, we shall find in him an undaunted spirit of perseverance, and an honest love of freedom, to which the feelings of every one do homage." The same writer mentions a cold-blooded obduracy, connected, perhaps, with a sanguinary turn of mind, displayed in those frequent assassinations which have stained the pages of Swedish history. The manners of the higher ranks, in consequence, perhaps, of political connection, have been studiously formed on the French model,

\* Ungewitter.

which does not accord very happily with the somewhat rude simplicity of the Swedes, who find it easier to imitate the frivolity and dissipation of that people, than their easy and careless grace. Several habits are enumerated as prevalent even among the higher classes in Scandinavia, which seem to negative its pretensions to any high pitch of refinement. Among these are, spitting even on handsome carpets, and recording games on the table with chalk.

Education is even more general in Sweden than in Scotland. The lower orders are considered much more intelligent than the same classes in the other countries of Europe. Sweden boasts several universities and many great names in science, literature, and the fine arts. Norway is as far behind in science and literature as she is ahead in her political system.

The peasantry of Dalecarlia are particularly distinguished for their energy and determined spirit. They once restored the fallen monarchy; and still hold it as a maxim that one Dalecarlian is equal to two other Swedes. Their diet is poor in the extreme, consisting in a great measure of bark bread; yet their health and vigour do not suffer; and a number of them who were quartered as troops at Stockholm, were affected with fevers in consequence of the repletion caused by eating wheaten-bread. The memory of Gustavus Vasa is cherished among the Dalecarlians with a strange enthusiasm.

The area of Norway is estimated at 122,752 square miles, and its population at 1,350,000 inhabitants. It is divided into seventeen bailiwicks, that are subdivided into forty-five smaller districts, and sixty-six townships, or *Sorenskrivier* as they are styled.\* The people generally lack intelligence and refinement, but they are patient, industrious, and persevering, and possess a strong love for freedom and independence. They may be said to enjoy more civil liberty than any of the European nations, except the Swiss. They can gain but little by a revolution. But the Swedes have much to reform.

\* Ungewitter.





## Denmark.

DENMARK maintained a gallant conflict with Prussia, in 1848, for the possession of the duchy of Schleswig Holstein, and attracted general attention to her people and institutions. The kingdom comprises the continent and islands between the North and Baltic Seas to the north of the lower Elbe and its mouth; and besides them, the Faroe isles and Iceland in the Atlantic. Its area is estimated at 49,927 square miles, and its population at 1,800,000 inhabitants. Adding 3738 square miles, and 515,000 inhabitants as the area and population of the duchies of Holstein and Lauenberg, over which the Danes claim authority, the whole kingdom would have a total area of 53,665 square miles, and a total population of 2,315,000 inhabitants.\* The surface of Denmark and the neighbouring isles is generally level, the soil fertile, and the climate mild and wholesome. Agriculture, manufactures, and commerce are extensively carried on, and are steadily increasing in value and importance. Much attention is given to agriculture, and considerable quantities of corn and cattle are exported.

The government of Denmark was, until recently, an unlimited, though not a despotic monarchy. Since 1834, however, provincial diets, with deliberative votes, have been constituted, and a regular charter of a limited monarchy has been adopted. The Lutheran faith is prevalent in Denmark, but all others are tolerated.

The Danes are generally quiet and industrious. The inhabitants of the towns, who are chiefly engaged in trade, have many qualities in common with the Dutch, and now form a respectable middle class, which acts as a check upon the power of the nobles, once so tyrannical and oppressive. The peasantry is still poor, though laborious, and it will probably be a considerable time before they will be able to attain their true and just position in society. The nobles, no longer addicted to those rude and daring pursuits which ren-

\* Ungewitter.

dered them once so formidable, live much in the style of opulent proprietors in other European countries. They are few in number. The power of the princes has always been exercised for the benefit of the masses in opposition to the nobles, and it is to the crown that the peasantry are indebted for their emancipation from personal slavery. Frederick VII., who ascended the throne of Denmark in 1848, has exerted himself to refine and enlighten the great body of his people. Every child of a certain age is now required to be sent to school, and the consequence is, that the mass of the people are becoming very intelligent. The kingdom has produced several highly distinguished proficient in science, literature, and the fine arts.

The Danish islands, between the Cattegat and the Baltic Sea, and Jutland, are divided into nineteen bailiwicks, while Sleswick is divided into fifteen bailiwicks and forty-five privileged districts, cities, etc.\* The Faroe isles and Iceland, which are under the authority of governors, have a hardy, industrious, and singularly intelligent population, descended from Danes and Norwegians.

The Danish army and navy are large and efficient, considering the size and resources of the kingdom. The war footing of the army would make it amount to one hundred thousand men. In time of peace, it amounts to one-fourth that number. In 1846, the navy consisted of seven ships-of-the-line, eight frigates, five sloops-of-war, four brigs, four steamers, and six other vessels, besides eighty-two gunboats, etc. The sailors being all registered, no difficulty is found in manning the navy.

### The Austrian Empire.

THE empire of Austria, which now ranks as one of the foremost states of Europe, includes a number of nations, differing from each other in manners, customs, traditions, and

\* Ungewitter.

pursuits. To an area of two hundred and fifty-eight thousand two hundred and sixty-two square miles, it has a population of thirty-eight millions three hundred and thirty-three thousand inhabitants, who are variously known as Germans, Sclavonians, Magyars, Italians, Wallachians, Jews, Gipsies, Greeks, and Armenians. In regard to religion, about twenty-five millions are Roman Catholics, five millions Greeks, five millions Protestants, and one million Jews.

In Germany, the Austrian empire comprises Upper and Lower Austria, Bohemia, Moravia, with the Alpine regions of Styria, Carinthia, and the Tyrol; in Poland several provinces, which have been wrested by successive partitions, and to which it gives the name of Gallicia; the entire kingdom of Hungary; and, in Italy, Venice, Milan, Mantua, and other territories, which have been united under the name of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom. The German territories, with Hungary, are known under the appellation of "the Hereditary States."

The government of Austria is an hereditary monarchy, almost entirely absolute. Originally the monarch enjoyed the title of emperor only when elected as head of the Germanic body; and his hereditary titles were Archduke of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia. But when Bonaparte compelled Francis II. to resign the title of Emperor of Germany, he assumed in its stead that of Emperor of Austria.

There are assemblies called States in all the countries subject to Austria, except Friuli and the military limits. But in general they impose no check on the prerogative of the monarch; and their assemblage is only for form's sake, or for giving assistance in some secondary branches of administration. In Hungary and Transylvania, however, the states have a share in the making of laws, and possess other important prerogatives; and in the Tyrol no new tax can be imposed without their consent.

Justice is administered in Austria according to recent codes, which were formed by Joseph II. in 1786-7, and by Francis II. in 1811-12. The tribunals of the first resort are

conducted, not by salaried judges, but by the magistrates of towns; and in the country by courts composed of the privileged nobility of the district. From them an appeal lies to colleges of justice established in the capital of each province.

The soil is generally fertile. The best cultivated districts of the empire are the valley of the Danube, in the Austrian arch-duchy, and the plain along the Po, in Lombardy and Venice. Bohemia, Moravia, and Gallicia are likewise favoured with a fertile soil; while the extensive heaths of Kelzkemet and Debreczin, in Hungary, are sterile wastes. The vast produce of agriculture, the forests and the mines, supply ample materials for carrying on a lucrative inland commerce; while, in many sections of the empire, manufactures have made immense progress. In the means of education, Austria rivals any other European country. Knowledge is generally diffused in the empire, with the exception of Hungary, where the Austrian government conflicted with the diet in providing and regulating the necessary institutions. There are nine universities in the empire, at Prague, Vienna, Olmutz, Gratz, Innsprück, Padua, Pavia, Lemberg, and Pesth, and a great number of academies and common schools. The system of education pursued, however, is not much admired by those who have witnessed its operation, and who are acquainted with the systems established in free countries.

The German provinces of Austria: the arch-duchy of Austria, Styria, Illyria, Tyrol, Bohemia, Moravia, Austrian Silesia, and the duchies of Anselmitz and Zotor, have a population of about thirteen millions of inhabitants. The arch-duchy of Austria, the germ of the empire, is a fertile tract of country, on both sides of the Danube, between Bavaria and Hungary proper, containing Vienna and its populous suburbs. In 1846, the capital had a population of about four hundred and thirty thousand persons, and contained many splendid edifices. It was strongly fortified. A more particular description of the capital and its inhabitants is necessary to a complete understanding of the revolutionary events which have occurred there.

Vienna is seated on the southern bank of the Danube, not more than twenty miles from the frontier of Hungary. The original city does not exceed a sixth of the space covered by the thirty-four suburbs, which stretch in an almost interminable extent, but are all surrounded by a wall. The body of the place displays a sober and solid stateliness, without gloom. The houses are massive and lofty; and, like those of Edinburgh, divided among a number of families, with a common staircase. Every house has a master, who looks to its general cleanliness and security, and shuts the common door at ten at night. There are on an average thirty-eight men in every house in Vienna. The city is rendered very handsome by the great number of mansions, justly entitled to the name of palaces, which are held by the high Austrian and Hungarian nobles. There are few very prominent single edifices. Even the original palace of the house of Hapsburg is represented as a collection of dissimilar and ill-assorted masses, added to each other as convenience dictated. That of Belvidere is more attractive, from its rich collections; and the rural palace of Schönbrunn, from its fine gardens. The cathedral of St. Stephen is the largest church in Germany, and unites all that is lofty, imposing, and sublime in Gothic architecture. A colossal and equestrian monument of Joseph II., by the German sculptor Zauner, adorns the square which bears that emperor's name. In other instances Austria has withheld this mark of gratitude from her great men: hence the relict of the great Marshal Laudohn, having placed a monument of him at his country-seat, inscribed on it:—"Erected, not by his country, not by his sovereign; but by his widow." Vienna has a number of other churches that are highly ornamental, particularly that of St. Lorenzo, a Gothic structure of great elegance. The city is very commercial; and the bustle in its streets is not equalled even in an English trading town. The art of effecting a safe passage through them on foot, amid the crowd of carriages, hackney coaches, loaded wagons, and wheelbarrows, there being only a slight indication of foot-pavement, is said to remain a mystery even



Austrians.

for those who have had the most extensive London experience. The driving a coach through with speed and safety is an attainment which the most skilful coachman from other cities cannot attain without very long practice.

Vienna is not a literary city, and is perhaps the largest that exists without an academy either of science or belles lettres. Yet there are few that contain more extensive collections of books, paintings, and objects of natural history, both in the royal palaces and the houses of the nobles. The censorship of the press is maintained with the utmost rigour; and the great object of the court seems to be, that nothing shall appear which can in the smallest degree reflect upon the imperial house or government. Mr. Russell even reports of the Emperor Ferdinand, that, when treating of some seminary of education, he observed, "I do not want learned men; I want men that will do what I bid them." The drama in Vienna,

as over all Germany, is a favourite amusement; but none of the leading dramatic writers belong to that city, which ranks, however, as the musical capital of Germany, and even of the world. If some of those whose names distinguish its harmonic annals were not native, at least they found there the patronage by which their exertions were excited, and their talents developed.

The manners of the people of Vienna are the subject only of qualified encomium. They are described as a more eating, drinking, good-natured, ill-educated, laughing, and hospitable people, than any other of Germany, or perhaps of Europe. In regard to themselves, they are distinguished by a love of pleasure; in regard to strangers, by great kindness and hospitality. The pleasures of the table seem to be prized in a very especial manner. The most profound skill is attributed to the cooks of Vienna; and Dr. Townson even expresses apprehension that a scarcity of the livers of geese, their favourite dish, might endanger the tranquillity of the empire. The citizens are seen in crowded parties of pleasure on the ramparts, and in the fine wooded public walk, called the Prater, between the city and the Danube. This eager pursuit of pleasure is unfortunately not always confined within the bounds of innocence. The dancing balls, to which persons of every class are admitted, attract a large proportion, at least, of the most profligate. Mr. Russell has not hesitated to make a charge of general dissoluteness; and adds, that there is not a female in Vienna who will not increase her means of amusement and show by the sacrifice of her virtue. M. Sherer, however, "who scans his nature with a brother's eye," argues that the scum which floats on the surface must not be too partially taken as the criterion of the whole composition. The family parties in the Prater appeared to him to show rather an air of quiet and natural cheerfulness, than of dissolute gayety; while the neatness and care with which the children were dressed, their smiling and happy countenances, seemed by no means to bespeak parental profligacy. They appeared to him

altogether an honest, affectionate, cheerful, frank, and obliging race.

Upper Austria is entirely a mountain region, an assemblage of lofty alps and glaciers, separated by valleys, and even by small plains, and presenting landscapes, sometimes soft and pleasing, sometimes in the highest degree wild and romantic. These mountains consist of the main body of the Noric, and the borders of the Rhetian Alps. It is needless to say that the country is little fitted for agricultural purposes; yet there is no district of Germany which has been improved with greater diligence. Of 3,287,264 jochs, of which this rugged surface consists, not more than an eleventh part is abandoned to absolute waste. There are 837,000 arable acres, 1,167,000 pasture, and 969,000 wood. The quantity of grain produced is about 9,000,000 bushels. The chief branch of husbandry, however, is pasturage, and the meadows of Upper Austria are reckoned superior to any other in Germany.

The people are very laborious and persevering, and appear cheerful and contented. The towns are of considerable size, and are noted for the skill of their manufacturing population.

Steyermark, or Styria, is a considerable inland territory, immediately to the south of Lower Austria, once governed by its own dukes, but long since absorbed in the empire. It is divided into Upper and Lower Styria; the former of which, being the western part, is altogether alpine; while the eastern districts decline into lower mountains, then into gentle hills, and finally into almost a level plain, on the borders of Hungary. The Mur, which crosses Styria from west to east, and passes through Hungary into the Danube, is a broad and rapid stream; but its navigation is so obstructed, that it is only useful for floating down the timber made into rafts, which are often dashed to pieces. The Drave, the Save, the Raab, and the Ens water particular parts of Styria. Of the 3,800,000 jochs of which it consists, about 1,500,000 are woodland; 1,080,000 pasture; only 558,000 arable; 50,000 vineyard. The grain is chiefly maize, (used for cattle, and bread for the lower orders,) rye, and buck-wheat: and the annual pro-



duce is estimated, by Kindermann, at 7,800,000 bushels. Flax, hemp, and potatoes are general. The wine is reckoned at 1,000,000 eimers, and is stronger and more fiery than the Austrian. But the most valuable produce is that of the mines in the upper province, which are various; but the most considerable is very fine iron, peculiarly fit for being formed into steel. Besides the numerous furnaces employed in extracting the ore, there are large manufactures of scythes, sickles, and chopping-knives; a great part of the iron also is worked up in Austria, and is even exported to England and France. Of the eastern province, a considerable extent is occupied, not by German inhabitants, but by the Winden, a rude Slavonian race, who do not understand the language of the Germans, and live in a much poorer and ruder manner.

The kingdom of Illyria was formed by Napoleon, after the peace of Presburg, when he had compelled Austria to cede to him the whole south-eastern angle of Germany, Carinthia, Carniola, and Friuli; to which he annexed part of Croatia, and the Tyrol. When all these territories returned under the dominion of Austria, she still retained the newly created kingdom, only severing from it the last two appendages. The kingdom, thus modified, contains a superficial extent of 13,590 square miles, according to Blumenbach, but only 13,480, according to Lichtenstein. This region is extremely mountainous and rugged, though the highest chains are on the frontier of Upper Austria and Syria, where Illyria claims a part of the stupendous mass of the Gross Glockner. Its own proper chains are those of the Carniolan and Julian Alps, which cover the greater part of the territory, of which the loftiest pinnacles do not in general rise above 6500 feet. The large stream of the Drave passes through Carinthia, and that of the Save through Carniola, into Hungary. The rugged surface of Illyria is, in many places, very ill-fitted for corn, of which it however produces 9,000,000 bushels, chiefly of the courser kinds, rye and oats. There is a good deal of flax, and a little hemp and silk. Cattle are fed in great numbers, and sheep in the more bare and rocky tracts round the Adriatic.



Styrians and Illyrians.

Lead is produced more copiously than in any other part of the empire, (about 2000 tons,) and mercury more abundantly than in any part of Europe, (640 tons;) iron 17,500 tons, and considerable quantities of antimony, alum, vitriol, coal, and salt. The chief branch of manufacture is that of working in metals, iron poles, wire, scissors, sickles, hooks, &c. There is also a good deal of linen, and some woollen. The foreign commerce is considerable: the only sea-ports in the Austro-German territories, Trieste and Fiume, are situated in Illyria.

Illyria contains about 4,357,000 inhabitants, who possess the same general characteristics as the Styrians.

The earldom of Tyrol contains 11,140 square miles and 900,000 inhabitants.\* It is a thoroughly mountainous

\* Ungewitter.



Tyrolese.

country, between Switzerland and Upper Austria, and between Bavaria and Italy, and is crossed by branches of the Alps, and by the Rivers Inn, Adige, and Eisack.

Agricultural industry cannot flourish on such a surface; as, of 1,500,000 jochs, only a tenth can be subjected to the plough, and then only rye, wheat, and barley can be grown. The Tyrolese, however, have made all that was possible out of their rugged soil. They have a great store of horned cattle and sheep; valuable gardens, from which apples are sent even to Russia; good wine, though it will not keep; some tobacco; wood, and salt in abundance. The other mineral productions are in considerable variety, but of no

great amount. The national character of the Tyrolese is excellent. They are honest, sincere, and open-hearted. Their attachment to their country, to its independence, and to the house of Austria, has been displayed in the most heroic manner. The exploits which their undisciplined and almost unarmed bands performed in the war of 1814, form one of the brightest pages of modern history. They are almost all Catholics; but their religion, according to this creed, is genuine and sincere. Their enterprising industry is strikingly displayed by the boldness with which they mount the steepest cliffs, and are thence let down by ropes, in order to cultivate like a garden a little spot that to a stranger would appear inaccessible. The towns of the Tyrol are Innsprück, the capital; an ancient, well built, and considerable place, commanding the valley of the Inn, and the most direct passage from Germany into Italy. Hither the Emperor Ferdinand fled in 1848. Halle, farther down on the same, flourishes by large mines of salt. Kuffstein is important as a military position. Trent, on the Adige, and near the borders of Italy, is a fine old city, celebrated for the ecclesiastical council held there in 1545-1562, which had so signal an influence on the political destinies of Europe. Roveredo, still farther down, and almost Italian, carries on some silk manufactures. Botzen, or Bolsano, has a crowded market, where the German and Italian merchants exchange the commodities of their respective countries. Brixen, Bregenz, Feldkirch, (the last two in the Voralberg, and on the borders of Switzerland,) are also of some consequence.

The kingdom of Bohemia, the most considerable of the German provinces of Austria, has an area of 20,096 square miles, and 4,600,000 inhabitants. The Emperor of Austria has been hereditary King of Bohemia since 1547. The country is an extensive plain, surrounded by a ring of mountains, some of which are five thousand feet in height. It is amply stocked with all kinds of solid and useful commodities. Grain, cattle, timber, and metals are all in such plenty that it is difficult to say which predominates. Fishing is carried on



Bohemians.

very actively in this inland region, by means of ponds, which are said to be 20,000 in number. Manufactures are extensive and profitable.

Two-thirds of the inhabitants of Bohemia belong to the Chechs, a branch of the Slavonian race. The remainder is made up of Germans and Jews. The Bohemians were the first people in Europe who maintained a contest for united civil and religious liberty. The bulk of the nation has been of the Protestant belief since the days of John Huss, but it has frequently been compelled to make a public confession of adhesion to Rome. Amid numerous convulsions, the civil rights for which the Bohemians contended have been swept away, and they now retain but a semblance of national states;

but all varieties of religious creed are tolerated. It is remarked, that there is little appearance of the wealth Bohemia actually contains. The nobles possess immense estates, firmly secured by entail and other legal provisions; but they spend their fortunes chiefly in profuse pomp and luxury at Vienna. The mass of the people are laborious and frugal, but are only tolerably provided. Without their expensive aristocracy, they would be happy and contented.

Prague, the capital of Bohemia, is situated on the Molden river, one hundred and sixty miles north-west of Vienna. It is strongly fortified, has 114,000 inhabitants, and is one of the most important trading and manufacturing cities in the Austrian empire. Its bridge, its old Gothic cathedral on a hill, the vast and decaying palaces of the ancient nobles, the old style of architecture in the private mansions, unite to give it an antique and characteristic grandeur. In the cathedral is particularly distinguished the magnificent silver shrine, which has survived the wars of centuries. Among the vast forsaken palaces may be distinguished that of Wallenstein, the frescoes of which are still bright; and that of Czermin, still more vast, but quite dilapidated. Prague appeared, on the whole, to Mr. Sherer, more picturesque and more impressive than Vienna. The trade of the kingdom centres very much in Prague; and three great annual fairs are held there. The city is kept very clean, but indifferently lighted, and some of its streets are unpaved.

Bohemia has a number of little towns of from two thousand to five thousand inhabitants, but no great cities, except its capital. We may mention Budweis, Pilsen, Königsgratz, a strong place on the Silesian frontier; Eger, a military position on the side of Franconia; Tabor, founded by the Hussites, who gave it this scriptural name; Töplitz, celebrated for its baths. The manufactures are chiefly carried on in small towns and villages, and do not accumulate in the larger cities.

In Bohemia, as in most of the Austrian countries, the military, clergy, nobility, and public functionaries are very



Moravians.

numerous, and particularly well provided for, while the artisans and the peasantry, who are looked upon merely in the light of slaves, toil and sweat to but little purpose, as far as concerns themselves. With a better system of government, the kingdom might become great and powerful, and realize the dreams of the statesmen who seek to unite the Slavonian race.

Moravia is a country of less extent than Bohemia, but of nearly similar aspect, and equally fertile. It has a frontier of mountains, which separate it from Bohemia, Hungary, and Poland. Austrian Silesia is included in Moravia. The total area is 10,607 square miles, and the population amounts to 2,310,000 inhabitants, who are principally of the Slavonian race. The Moravians are chiefly engaged in manufactures, though agriculture is pursued to a considerable extent. Vast

quantities of cotton and woollen goods are annually produced. Brunn, a strong fortress, is the capital, but Iglan is the greatest thoroughfare in Moravia. Olmutz is a great market for Prussian and Hungarian cattle. Though generally well provided, the people are not cheerful or contented. A jealousy exists between the Sclavonians and the Germans, which seem irremediable, and which produces constant bickerings.

The duchies of Auschwitz and Zator are situated between Feschen and Cracow. They have an area of 1,491 square miles, and 365,000 inhabitants.\* The people are chiefly engaged in agriculture, but manufactures also engage their attention in one or two towns. The capitals of the duchies are the small towns of Auschwitz and Zator.

The kingdom of Gallicia and Lodomeria is the name Austria gives to her portion of Poland. It has an area of 32,908 square miles, and about 4,950,000 inhabitants. The surface of the country is level, and the soil is tolerably fertile. Extensive mines of salt are found in various sections. A large portion of the population is engaged in manufactures, but agriculture and the salt mines occupy the majority.

A representative assembly is allowed Gallicia, but its powers are very limited. The states consist of four orders: the clergy, the nobility, the knights, and the representatives of cities. They meet annually; but the imposition of taxes and the making of laws, the two great primary functions of a national assembly, do not lie within their competence. They are allowed, however, some concern in the distribution of the land tax and the mode of levying the troops, though the amount of both is fixed by the sovereign. The Poles of Gallicia belong to the Sclavonic race, which occupies so great a tract of country in central Europe. They have emerged more than the others from the generally rude and unimproved state which characterizes this race; remaining, however, far in arrear of the Teutonic and other western nations. The

\* Ungewitter.



feudal system, broken up in the greater part of western Europe, exists here in almost undiminished operation. Society consists altogether of two distinct and distant orders, the nobles and the peasantry, without any intermediate degrees. The nobles, who are more numerous than in any other country in Europe, have always, in the eye of the public, formed the people of Poland. They are brave, prompt, frank, hospitable, and gay. They have been called the French of the north; and, both from habits and political connection, are attached to that nation. On the contrary, they regard the Germans with mingled contempt and aversion; calling them *Niemic*, or dumb, in contrast with their own fluency and loquacity. Before their fall, their neighbours called them "the proud Poles." They consider it the deepest disgrace to practise any profession, even law or medicine; and, in case of utmost necessity, even prefer the plough. The luxury of modern times, and the variations in the price of grain, have very generally involved them in pecuniary embarrassments, and placed many of their fortunes in the hands of Jews. The Jews, sober, industrious, parsimonious, crafty, form a numerous and separate people in the heart of the Polish territories. Once a year occur what are called the Polish contracts, when the nobles repair to the principal towns, to sell their lands, pay their interest, and negotiate all their money transactions. Hither their wives and daughters resort for amusement; speculators bring their wares; usurers, musicians, strolling-players, sharpers, courtesans, come to ply their respective trades. The Poles, in personal appearance, are handsome and vigorous, though subject to that loathsome and sometimes dangerous disorder called the *plica polonica*. The Polish ladies are celebrated for their beauty, and are considered also more intelligent and agreeable than those of Russia. The peasantry are not absolute slaves, but they are raised little above that degrading condition; an estate being usually estimated by the number of its peasants.

The religion of Gallicia, contrary to that which prevails in the great body of the Slavonic nations, is Roman Catholic.

This is, perhaps, one main cause of a higher civilization; for the catholic religion, though, in comparison with the protestant, it be unfavourable to intelligence and improvement, has an opposite character when compared with that of the Greek church. Preaching has always formed an essential part of its worship, which gives it a decided superiority over a system which excludes that mode of instruction, and deals merely in a round of childish ceremonies. The numerous body of the Jews, of course, profess their national faith.

The universities of Poland have enjoyed considerable reputation: that of Cracow, three centuries ago, was one of the most flourishing in Europe: it not only attracted crowds of native students, but drew others from all the neighbouring kingdoms. The distracted state of the country, with the rising reputation of the German seminaries, gradually thinned their number; and the final blow was struck by its subjection to Austria, which introduced the German language, of all other things the most abhorrent to the Poles. A revival seemed to be promised, by the arrangement which fixed Cracow as an independent republic; but this expectation has not yet been fulfilled.

The amusements and mode of life among the higher ranks are chiefly copied from the other nations of Europe, particularly the French. The Polish dances, however, are strictly national, and very graceful. That, especially, called the Polonaise is marked by a slow majesty of movement, which has been remarked as worthy of a nation who elected their kings. The Poles have a singular manner of shaving the head, leaving only a tuft of hair on the crown, and mustachios are generally worn.

Lemberg, the capital, which has 75,000 inhabitants—one-fourth Jews—and Cracow, which has 45,000 inhabitants are the chief towns in Gallicia.

Hungary, called by the Germans *Ungarn*, with Transylvania, Sclavonia, and Croatia, forms nearly a square, of 400 miles in each direction. The total area of the kingdom is

88,267 square miles, and the total population 11,017,600 inhabitants.

The great mountain girdle of the Carpathians ranges nearly in a semicircle round the northern and eastern border of Hungary. Several connected chains penetrate into the heart of the country, of which the most elevated are those of Tatra and Matra; the Julian Alps, and the mountains of the Bannat, on the southern border, render a great part of the country at least very hilly. On the other hand, there are plains of almost boundless extent, such as that to the east of the Danube, watered by the Theiss, which covers a space of upward of 22,000 square miles; and another to the west of that river, reaching to the borders of Styria. Hungary, protected by the Carpathians from the blasts of the north, and sloping downward to the south, enjoys a milder climate than any part of Germany. On the Carpathian terraces, particularly, the richest wines, and the choicest productions of southern Europe, are raised in perfection. There is a vast variety of country, however; many tracts being naked and rocky, others covered with marshes, and some even forming deserts of barren sand. The rivers of Hungary are very important. The Danube, making a grand circuit, rolls through it, chiefly from north to south, and receives here its mightiest tributaries. The Drave and the Save, from the east, bring to it all the waters of the great Alpine border of southern Germany. The Theiss, after collecting, in a course of four hundred miles, nearly all the streams which flow from the Carpathians, falls in from the east, near the southern frontier. The Maros is the greatest tributary of the Theiss; and the Gran and the Waag are considerable streams, which flow into the Danube itself. The lakes of Hungary are numerous, but only two are large; the Platon or Balaton, which receives the waters of nine streams, and is supposed to pour them under ground into the Danube; and the Neuisedler, the water of which is salt. The long and sluggish streams of the Theiss and the Maros spread into wide morasses, which, acted on by the rays of a burning sun, exhale pestilential va-

pours, often more fatal than the sword to the armies which have been led into their vicinity.

Of the population, more than five millions belong to the Slavonic tribe, four millions are Magyars, and the remainder is made up chiefly of Germans. The Magyars have held the same relation to the other races that the Normans did to the Saxons, after the conquest of England by William of Normandy. The great body of the aristocracy belong to that race. Since 1848, the peasantry have enjoyed a degree of freedom and independence never before known to them. Their emancipation was a measure of justice long delayed, in consequence of the selfishness of the nobility. When a mighty spirit arose in the person of the illustrious Kossuth, the deliverance of the tiller of the soil was its first great object. Still, in consequence of the backwardness of all kinds of industry in Hungary, and the heavy burden of taxation, the mass of the people cannot be said to be in an enviable condition.

The political relations of Hungary, considered as a member of the Austrian empire, have been touched upon in our account of the struggle for independence in 1848-49.

The kingdom is now hereditary in the Austrian dynasty; but, in case that should become extinct, the right of choice would return to the nation. The Hungarian Diet possesses high prerogatives. Without their vote the king cannot make or change the laws, impose taxes, or even levy troops. Every new king, before his coronation, must take an oath to maintain the constitution of Hungary. The diet consists of four states or orders:—1. The bishops and abbots. 2. The magnates or great nobles. 3. The knights. 4. The free cities.—The two former appear in person, and constitute what is called the magnate table; the two latter, who form what is called the state table, appear by their representatives. The diet assembles every three years, at Presburg or Buda, and sits during the king's pleasure. If three of the orders agree to any proposition, the fourth must give its consent.

In the administration, the body of the people, with the

exception of those who form part of the corporations in the free cities, have no share: a circumstance of which advantage is taken to throw upon them the whole burden of taxation, from which the nobles and clergy have held themselves exempt.

Hungary is wanting in the means of education. Latin is, in some places, the ordinary language among gentlemen, and many of the nobles are highly educated. But the diet differs with the Austrian government in regard to the language to be taught in the common schools, and, consequently, few have been set in operation. The peasantry have been kept in a woful state of ignorance, and all interests have suffered thereby. The rigorous press laws enforced by the Austrian government have been another drawback upon the means of information. In regard to religious worship, full freedom has long been established in Hungary, and all Christian professions are considered equal in the eye of the law. The Catholics are most numerous and powerful; and it is complained that they are disposed to be intolerant.

In character, the nobles of Hungary are known to be brave, intelligent, and hardy, devotedly attached to ancient privileges and customs, and bitterly opposed to every thing of a German cast.

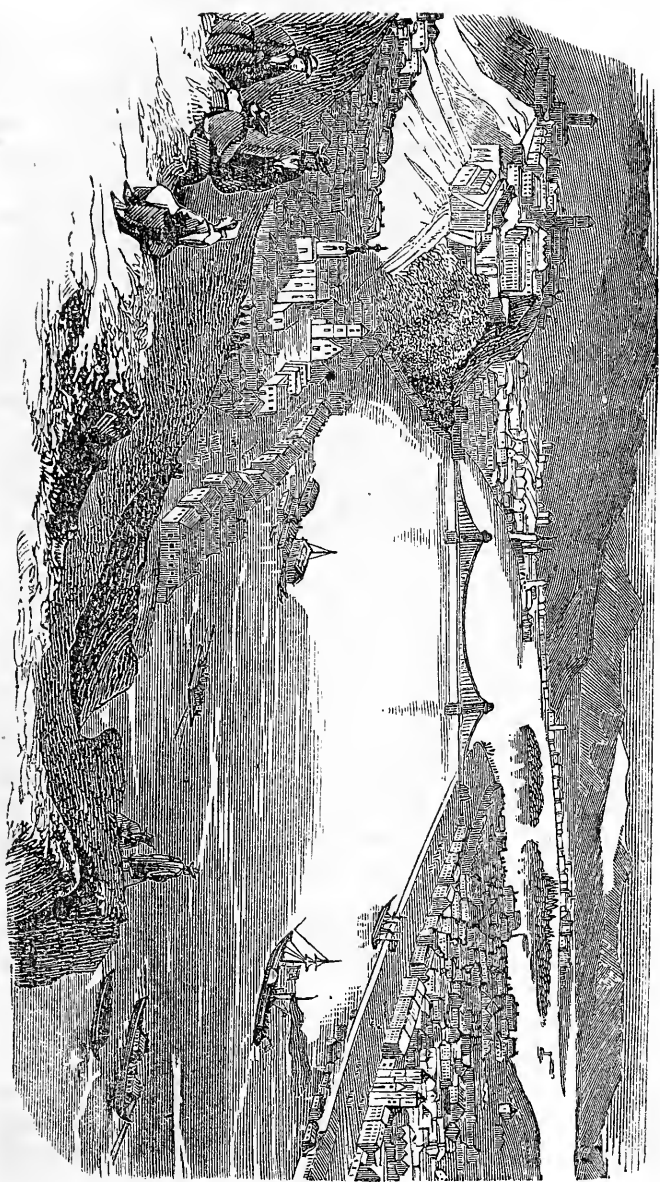
The amusements of the body of the people consist chiefly of some national dances, particularly on occasion of the vintage, which is a season of unbounded gayety. The national military dress, being the same commonly denominated hussar, is picturesque and martial, and has been imitated by the other European nations. The peasantry wear a broad-brimmed, varnished hat, with a low rounded crown; they have their matted long black hair negligently plaited or tied in knots, a blue jacket and trousers, covered with a cloak of coarse woollen cloth or sheepskin, still retaining its wool. They live in small villages, or rather clusters of cottages, arranged on each side of a muddy road, whitewashed, roofed with thatch, but the interior containing, generally, three tolerably comfortable apartments.

We shall now speak more particularly of the various portions of Hungary.

Upper Hungary is divided into two parts by the Danube. That on the north of the river is the most important; and contains both the leading capitals and the great mining districts of Schemnitz and Kremnitz.

Presburg, established in 1536, as the place where the kings were to be crowned, and the diets to be held, passes often as the capital of Hungary, though it is neither so large nor so handsome a city as Buda. Csaplovicz estimates its population at about thirty-two thousand. The houses and streets are ordinary in their appearance; and the suburbs only can boast a few palaces of the nobles. The castle overlooks the very extensive plain in which the city stands. Presburg has a few manufactures, and a considerable trade, chiefly in corn and wine, up and down the Danube. There is a large Lutheran seminary, attended by about five hundred students.

Buda, or Ofen, and Pesth, separated by the Danube, form, in conjunction, by much the most important city in Hungary. Buda, on the right bank, is the first in dignity, being now the seat of government, which was transferred thither by Joseph II. from Presburg, in 1784. It consists chiefly of an extensive fortress seated on a lofty rock, somewhat resembling the castle of Edinburgh, and containing the houses of the Palatine and of some of the principal nobility. Along the foot of the castle several streets extend upon the river. One of the most remarkable features consists of the baths, which are ancient, and of Turkish construction. The citizens resort to them in crowds, exhibiting themselves in a very unscrupulous state of nudity. Pesth, on the opposite bank, is a larger and now more important city, forming the centre of the inland trade of Hungary. Four immense fairs are held there, which present an epitome both of the people and productions of the country. The native products are chiefly sold without the city, on both sides of a long road, as they arrive in the wagons, disposed for that purpose so as to form



Buda and Pesth.

a species of square enclosure. An immense space is covered with horses, sheep, and cattle, the latter often amounting to thirty thousand. The goods brought down from Vienna are displayed in a large open space within the town, and in ranges of booths, which are penetrated by two broad streets crossing each other at right angles, and by other smaller streets and passages. The Danube, also, for the space of half a mile, is covered with boats and barges, which, with the banks, serve as a market-place for the goods. For recreation are prepared various sights, puppet-shows, fruits, especially water melons in immense quantities, and refreshments cooked and presented by the gipsies. Great commercial roads branch off from Pesth through every part of the country, and toward Austria, Moravia, Galicia, Transylvania, Croatia, and Italy. Pesth contains ninety thousand inhabitants, and Buda forty-five thousand, making in all one hundred and thirty-five thousand. Pesth is chiefly modern, and well built; containing many good streets and handsome houses, besides churches. There is considerable magnificence in the grenadier's caserne, built by Charles VI., and in a large unfinished edifice, raised by Joseph II., which Townson calls a palace; but Bright does not think it possible to say what it is. The national university, already mentioned, is in Pesth. The city is without walls, and is connected with Buda by a bridge of forty-seven boats, which are movable, and through which, at stated times, an opening is made to allow the passage of vessels and rafts. In winter it is taken down, and the two cities communicate over the ice.

The mining capitals, Schemnitz, Kremnitz, and Neusatz, are situated on the declivities of a bold and mountainous country, forming a lower ridge of the Carpathians. Schemnitz, the great centre of the mining operations, is in a position peculiarly rugged, the streets being built along the sides of hills, and separated from each other by cliffs and woods: a large number of its inhabitants are employed in the mines. The town was founded in 745; but it was Maria Theresa who established the mining college, which is conducted on a very



liberal footing; comprehends lectures on every branch of natural knowledge; and is attended, even in bad times, by two hundred or three hundred students. The mines have been already noticed. The water is drained off by a subterraneous stream of about twelve miles in length, which empties itself into the river Gran. Kremnitz, is only about half the size, and has a more straggling and neglected appearance; though one of its churches is very profusely ornamented. Neusol, about the size of Gran, is supported by the copper-mines, and has a large manufactory of arms in its vicinity.

That part of Lower Hungary which lies to the south-west of the Danube, enclosed between that river and the Austrian and Illyrian frontiers, contains also a number of places of considerable importance. Edeburg, sometimes spelt and pronounced Edinburg, is finely situated in a country variegated with wooded and vine-covered hills, which surround the great lake of the Neusiedler Sea. There is more manufacturing industry than in most Hungarian towns; but still it owes its main prosperity to its position; being the route by which supplies of provisions are conveyed from Hungary to Vienna. For this purpose forty thousand cattle, and eighty thousand hogs are annually brought to its markets. There is also a great trade in wine, of which thirty-two thousand eimers are produced in its neighbourhood; and we trust there is little ground for the allegation of Debretzki, that the young ladies who are employed in the sale of it partake rather too copiously of this beverage. Edeburg has also in its neighbourhood a mine of coal, which yields about twelve thousand tons annually. Raab, on the river of the same name, near its junction with the Danube, celebrated as a fortress, is more noted for its fairs and markets. Komorn, at the junction of the Danube and the Waag, is still more celebrated for its great strength; and so early as the year 1272 it was considered one of the bulwarks of the Austrian monarchy. Its situation gives it still a considerable trade; Stuhlweissenberg, in the heart of this marshy district, was anciently a splendid town and a royal residence, called Alba

Regalis. For five centuries the kings of Hungary were crowned and their remains deposited here. Since the beginning of the last century, it has been entirely neglected; and though there are a number of buildings which bear the stamp of grandeur it is but a poor and mean place.

Upper Hungary consists of a vast range of territory, extending from the Danube to the eastern boundaries of the kingdom. The hills and mountains of the northern part being finely watered, produce in the highest perfection those delicious wines for which Hungary is so famous. The southern part consists of one unvaried and almost unlimited plain, through which flows the Theiss, which traverses Upper Hungary from north to south. This plain consists, in some places, of barren sand blown into hillocks; in others, of immense expanses of fine pasturage covered with numberless flocks and herds; while a great part of the tract immediately bordering on the Theiss is marshy and inundated.

Debretzin, or Debreczin, for extent and importance, takes decidedly the lead of all places in Upper or Eastern Hungary; yet it may be called an enormous village, rather than a city, or even a town. Population about sixty thousand. The houses, with scarcely any exceptions, are mere cottages, one story high, roofed with thatch, and arranged on no regular plan. There is no pavement, and in the most frequented quarters the passenger flounders through sand and mud. Instead of a wall, it is surrounded by a hedge, and the town-gates are, like our field-gates, stuck with thorns and brambles. The greater part of the inhabitants are Calvinists; and by their plain attire, their simple deportment, the stillness and earnestness which sits upon every countenance, give a character to the place very different from that of a gay capital; yet, next to Pesth, it is the most commercial town in the kingdom. Every quarter of a year there is a market, when a space of ground which the eye can scarcely command is covered with flocks and wagons, bales and cases, tents and huts. A fine species of soap made here is considered a luxury even at Vienna; and a great deal of saltpetre is manufactured.

Among other towns of Upper Hungary must be mentioned Grosswardien, to the east of Debretzin. It is a pretty frontier town of the district of Hungary inhabited by the Wallachians. The inhabitants, unlike those of Debretzin, are particularly gay; music and dancing are heard in every house; and there are four warm baths, to which the inhabitants resort for pleasure as well as health. Kaschan, in the northern hilly country, is called by Townson the metropolis of Upper Hungary, but does not seem to be at present considered in that light, nor can it any way rival Debretzin. The principal street is broad and pretty regular, adorned with some good houses of the nobility, an elegant coffee-house, and a fine Gothic church. At about a day's journey is a mountain which produces that fine stone, the true opal, which, as some suspect, is found nowhere else in the world; those called the oriental being alleged to be all brought from this mine. Erlau, or Agria, a larger town, but ill-built, is the seat of a richly endowed archbishopric; one of the late incumbents of which, otherwise not much extolled by Townson, founded a very handsome college. Mischkoks is also a large town in the same neighbourhood, in a rich wine and fruit country, of which it collects the products. Tokay is only a village; and the surrounding district is only one of a number producing the celebrated wine already mentioned, which bears its name. Szegedin, farther down the Theiss, at its junction with the great tributary of the Maros, is a large and strong city, a flourishing trade in wool and tobacco, of which 60,000 cwt. are sent down the Danube; salt from Transylvania, and cotton from Macedonia.

Croatia is a district which, though possessing a people and language of its own, has for some time been attached to Hungary, and sends deputies to the Hungarian diet. Since the re-annexation of Carlstadt, which a long time formed part of the kingdom of Illyria, it extends over 3356 square miles, and contains about 370,000 inhabitants. The district of Carlstadt, on the Illyrian frontier, is mountainous; but westward the country declines into a level plain, traversed by

the Save. Corn, cattle of small size, and tobacco of good quality, are its staples. The Croats form bodies of light horse rather distinguished in irregular warfare. Agram is a large and strong town, on the Save, without manufactures, but with a good deal of trade, both on the river between Hungary and the Adriatic. Varesdin and Carlstadt are smaller places, deriving some importance from being in this last line of commerce.

Sclavonia is a district to the east of Croatia, and the only one bearing the name of a nation whose colonies and language are so widely diffused. It enjoys a mild climate and fertile territory, yet more than half of its surface, of 3478 square miles, is covered with wood, and the rest is by no means cultivated to the extent of which it is capable. Its political relations are in many respects the same as those of Croatia; its products and trade similar, and it is equally destitute of manufacturing industry. Posega is accounted the capital; but Essek, a strong place on the Drave, near its junction with the Danube, is of more importance.

Transylvania, meaning the country beyond the Carpathian hill forests, and called by the Germans Siebenburgen, (a name brought by German colonists from Siebengebirge, near the Rhine,) is a very elevated territory: the Carpathians, which enclose it in the form of a half moon, present summits of seven or eight thousand feet. To the height of five thousand feet they are covered with wood, but beyond that height they are rugged and alpine. The mountains are perforated by numerous caves. There are many little lakes; and the morass of Kovaszna is remarkable for its almost unfathomable depth. Notwithstanding its rugged surface, Transylvania has a mild climate, and is well cultivated. Its products in grain is reckoned about eighteen millions of bushels. Cattle form a principal staple: the flesh of the oxen is good; but the milch cows are not of great excellence, and the wool of the sheep is coarse. Wine is produced in abundance, to the extent of 3,640,000 eimers, according to Blumenbach; but, as it does not keep, it is not an object of trade. Tran-

sylvania is rich in minerals, particularly gold, of which it yields 2750 marks; also 3500 tons of iron. It might supply the whole empire with salt; and sends, in fact, 25,000 tons into Hungary. The miners, chiefly German, amounted, in 1791, to 4528. There are no manufactures, except the most common fabrics. The people consist almost entirely of strangers, who have immigrated from the neighbouring and distant countries. Lichtenstein reckons one-half are Magyars and the other half Szeklers. The protestants predominate in Transylvania. The religious professions have each seminaries for rearing their respective students; and there are two societies for the culture of the Hungarian language and history, both established by Count George Banky. Hermstadt, situated in the Saxon district, is considered the capital.

The military frontier is a long range of territory, appropriated from the southern border of Croatia, Sclavonia, Hungary, and Transylvania, and placed under a peculiar régime, in the view of forming a barrier upon this side against the inroads of the Turks. For this purpose it is placed under a system completely feudal, all the lands being held under the condition that their occupants take the field in person whenever they may be called upon. Each individual receives a certain number of acres, which cannot be sold, pledged, or dismembered, though it may be exchanged for another of equal amount. That his fields may not suffer when he is called out, the inhabitants are divided into families of about sixty, at the head of whom is a directing patriarch, and among whom the culture and produce of the land is in common, each family, according to the number that it has sent out, and their length or service, having allowances or remission of taxes of twelve guilders a head. The country is divided, not into provinces, but into regiments; the Carlstadt regiment, the Gradisca regiment, &c. This singular arrangement began with Croatia, in 1566, and ended with Transylvania in 1764. Of late its chief use has been to form a cordon for preventing the irruption of the plague. This frontier partakes physically and morally of the peculiarities of all the countries and

all the people from which it is served. The industry is chiefly pastoral, not much more than a fourth of the lands being under the plough. The cities are called Free Military Communities; Semlin, in the Slavonic frontier is the largest. Peterwardein, Brod, and Gradisca are strongly fortified little towns.

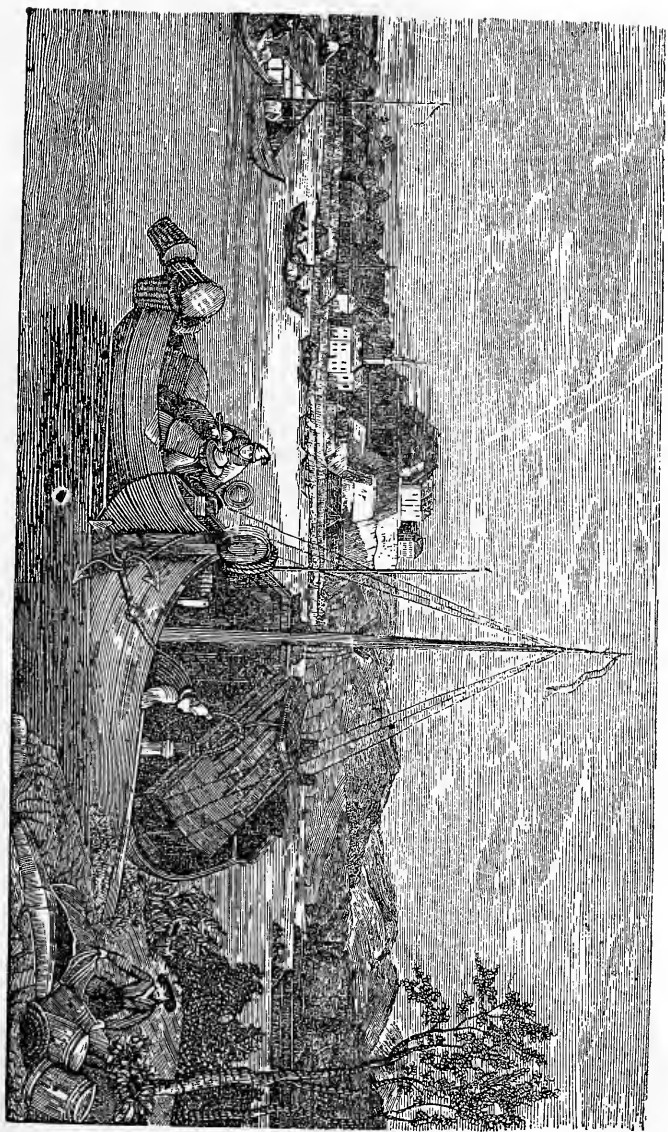
The kingdom of Dalmatia is a strip of country extending along the Adriatic, on the north bordering on the Croatian military frontier, and for the remainder, surrounded by Turkish territories. The country has an area of 4,952 square miles, and 421,300 inhabitants. The people are chiefly of the Slavonic tribe, and speak the Serbian language. Dalmatia is divided into four counties, styled circles, and twenty-six districts.\* The coast is bleak and arid, and the interior is rugged. But little grain is raised. The cattle, though small, are numerous. The fishery employs a great number of the inhabitants of the coast. Zara, the fortified capital, is situated on the Adriatic, and is a flourishing town. Spalatro is noted for its Roman antiquities. The people of Dalmatia have but little care for politics, and appear satisfied with their condition.

The Lombardo-Venitian kingdom consists of the fertile and beautiful plain of the Po, bordered on one side by the highest ranges of the Alps, on the other by those of the Appenines. It has an area of 17,594 square miles, and a population of 5,068,000 inhabitants. The kingdom is divided into two governments, styled gubernia—those of Milan and Venice—and subdivided into seventeen provinces, styled delegations.† The first gubernium comprises Milan, Mantua, and Castiglione, the formerly Swiss territories of Veltlin, Borino, and Chiavenna, and part of the former territories of the republic of Venice.

Milan ranks almost as the capital of modern Italy. In 1845, the city had a population of 205,000 inhabitants. Its situation in the middle of a superlatively rich and beautiful plain, watered by the Po, at a point where all the great canals

\* Ungewitter.

† Ibid.



Comorin.

meet, and on the high road from Germany by the lakes Maggiore and Como, render it a sort of key to the northern part of this kingdom. Its modern greatness preceded that of most of the other cities; and under the Sforzas and Viscontis it became the grand theatre of debate between France and Austria. Its greatest splendour, however, was attained under the régime of France, when it became the capital, first of the Italian republic, and then of the kingdom of Italy. Napoleon spared no expense in erecting edifices which might dazzle the eyes of his new vassals. The Duomo, begun in the fifteenth century, under the Viscontis, and slowly carried on by successive benefactions, had been left more than half unfinished; so that the French had the greater part of its magnificent front to execute. It is the only very superb edifice of this description which may be said to belong to the present age. In extent and pomp it ranks second to St. Peter's; though the design has been criticised, especially as to the four hundred statues which are ranged along the façade. It is 454 feet long, 270 wide; the height of the cupola is 232, and that of the tower 335 feet. The French also erected a very magnificent amphitheatre, completely on the antique model, in which from 30,000 to 40,000 spectators can be accommodated. Chariot races and national games have been repeatedly performed within its precincts. A superb triumphal arch was commenced on the Simplon road, in commemoration of the stupendous labours by which that passage over the Alps was formed; but since the fall of Napoleon no further progress has been made. The theatre Della Scala is the only very fine one in Italy, as it was only in Milan, and during the last century, that the Italian drama acquired any degree of splendour. The opera of this city is accounted inferior to that of Naples; but the ballet is the finest in Italy. A more interesting and classical scene is presented by the Brera, or palace, formed out of the ancient convent of the Humiliati. Here the French deposited the finest paintings which could be procured by purchase or otherwise, from every part of Italy, including those brilliant productions of the Bolognese schools,



which had adorned the Zampieri palace. The Last Supper of Leonardo da Vinci, one of the greatest masterpieces of modern art, and long the pride of Milan, is now almost entirely faded, and scarcely known but by engravings, and by a very fine copy, in mosaic, made by the French. The Ambrosian library, formed by Cardinal Frederic Borromeo, on the basis of the Benedictine collection, consists of 90,000 volumes and 15,000 manuscripts, and is well known to the world by the learned researches and discoveries of Angelo Mai. Milan has an infirmary for 3600 sick, and a foundling hospital for 4000 children. It covers a great space of ground, and has some very spacious squares; but the streets in general, like those of other old cities, are narrow and crooked, and far from handsome. Several of those called *corsos*, however, which form the entrance into the city, have been greatly improved.

In Milan we meet with the same society to be found throughout Italy, and especially in the cities under the control of Austria. A haughty, pleasure-loving nobility—public functionaries, many of whom are foreigners—Catholic clergy, and the extremely poor—beggars being very numerous. The other towns in the duchy of Milan are Monza, with about 17,000 inhabitants, and important manufactures; Marignano, with about 4000 inhabitants; Pavia, with 25,000 inhabitants, fine literary institutions, and considerable trade; Lodi, with about 18,000 inhabitants, and important potteries; Codogno, with 8400 inhabitants; Cremona, with 28,000 inhabitants, and excellent literary institutions; Como, with 17,000 inhabitants, and considerable manufactures; and a few small market towns.

The duchy of Mantua contains its strong and ancient capital of the same name, a city with about 28,000 inhabitants, important manufactures, and considerable trade; Gonzaga, a market town; and Viadana, noted for its linen manufactures. The principality of Castiglione, and the territories which formerly belonged to Switzerland, contain no towns of importance. The people differ in few particulars from the inhabi-

tants of Milan and Mantua. The former territories of the republic of Venice, within the limits of their government, contain Brescia, at the Milan and Venice railroad, a city with 28,000 inhabitants, highly famed for its manufactures of fire-arms, cutlery, &c., as well as for its monuments and literary institutions; Bergamo, a city between the Sevia and Brembo rivers, with 32,000 inhabitants, considerable trade, and manufactures, and noted chiefly for its annual fairs; Erema, Montechiavo, Chiaro, Toscolano, Gorguano, Verona, Nuova Casteneddo, Lonato, and several other small towns.\*

The gubernium of Venice comprises nothing but former territories of the ancient republic. The city, though now reduced to a secondary rank, compared with Milan, is more celebrated and much more beautiful. It cannot, indeed, boast of any classic monuments, nor are its churches built in so lofty a style; but its palaces, the gay architecture of Palladio, present a range of the finest private mansions that were ever erected. The effect is greatly heightened by its situation, on seventy islets of the Adriatic, partly on the rock, partly on piles sunk into the sea, and a marine channel, instead of a pavement, perforating every street. Scarcely is there room left for a foot passenger; the Venetian is conveyed in the gay gondola from palace to palace. Thus Venice appears rising from the waters, with its numberless domes and towers; and, attended by several smaller islands, each crowned with spires and pinnacles, presents the appearance of a vast city floating on the bosom of the ocean. The row of magnificent but decaying palaces which extend along the grand canal, with their light arabesque balconies and casements, their marble porticos, and peculiar chimneys, present one of the most superb and singular scenes in the world. They stand in majesty of ruin, and exhibit the most affecting combinations of former splendour and present decay. The most commanding objects are those round the square of St. Mark, the most magnificent public place in Italy. The church of St. Mark rivals in splendour any edifice in that country, or in Europe.

\* Ungewitter.

But this pomp is gloomy and barbaric: the five domes which swell from its roof, the crowded decorations which cover its porticoes, give it the appearance of an Eastern pagoda. Its mixed orders, Greek, Saracenic, and Gothic, are beautifully but barbarously blended, and glitter with incrustations of gold, gems, and marbles. The interior is enriched with the spoils of Constantinople and the East, the monuments of long ages of glory. The most classic plunder is that of the four bronze horses of Lysippus, which stand on the portico facing the piazza. After remaining there six hundred years, they were removed to the Tuileries, but are now replaced. The figure of a lion, emblematical of the evangelist St. Mark, stands on the second arch. One side of the square is lined by the ducal palace, a fabric of vast extent and solidity, built in the Gothic and Saracenic style. The stranger beholds with emotion the halls where the senate, and the dreadful Council of Ten formerly sat; and which, as well as the other apartments, are adorned with the finest works of the Venetian painters. The Rialto, a bold marble arch thrown over the most magnificent part of the great canal, excites universal admiration. The arsenal occupies an island by itself, and is strongly fortified, spacious, and commodious, wanting nothing but shipping and naval stores. The churches, the palaces, and the *scuole* or halls of the different corporations, are embellished with the finest paintings, both in oil and fresco, of the great Venetian painters, Titian, Paul Veronese, Tintoretto, and the Palmas. This school, as is well known, surpassed all others in colouring, though it did not reach the grand design and expression of the Roman. Venice is the birthplace of Canova, the greatest of modern sculptors, and contains some of his works.

The inhabitants of Venice are a lively, ingenious people, extravagantly fond of public amusements, with an uncommon relish for humour, and yet more attachment to the real enjoyments of life than those which depend on ostentation and proceed from vanity. The common people display qualities rarely to be found in their sphere of life, being remarkably sober,

obliging to strangers, and gentle in their intercourse with one another.

The Venetians are, in general, tall and well made, of a brown ruddy colour, with dark eyes; the women have a fine countenance, with expressive features, and a skin of rich carnation; they dress their hair in a fanciful manner, which becomes them very much; they are of an easy address, and have no aversion from cultivating an acquaintance with those strangers who are presented by relations, or are properly recommended to them. Foreigners are under less restraint here than the natives, and many, after having lived in most of the capitals of Europe, have preferred the city of Venice, on account of the variety of amusements, the gentle manners of the inhabitants, and the perfect freedom allowed in every thing, except in blaming the measures of government.

The houses are thought inconvenient by many travellers; the floors are of a red kind of plaster, with a brilliant, glossy surface, more beautiful than wood, and far preferable in case of fire, the progress of which they are calculated to check. The principal apartments are on the second floor; the first is seldom inhabited, and is often filled with lumber; they prefer the second as being farther removed from the moisture of surrounding lakes, or as being better lighted and more cheerful.

The number of play-houses in Venice is very extraordinary, considering the size of the place. A trifle is demanded at the door for admittance; this entitles a person to go into the pit, where he may look about and determine what part of the house he will sit in. There are rows of chairs placed in the front of the pit, next the orchestra, the seats of which are folded to the backs and fastened by a lock; those who choose to take them pay a little more money to the door-keeper, who immediately unlocks the seat. These chairs are occupied by decent-looking people, but the back part of the pit is filled with footmen and mechanics in their working clothes. The nobility and better sort of citizens have boxes retained for the year, but there are always a sufficient number to let to

strangers, and the price of them varies every night according to the season and the piece acted.

Those acquainted with the character of the Venetians little expected such a display of energy and determination as they presented in the late revolutionary period. The people proved conclusively that they only needed free institutions to recover their ancient power and prosperity. At present they writhe under the oppressive hand of Austria. In 1846, Venice contained 120,000 inhabitants, among whom were only 6,380 notoriously poor.

The other cities and towns in the Venetian territory are Chioggia, a city on an island of the same name, with salt waters, and 25,500 inhabitants; Padua, on the Bocchiglione, near the Brenta River, with a renowned university, extensive manufactures, and 52,000 inhabitants; Monselice, Montagnano, Este, Rovigo, and Adria, each with 9,000 inhabitants; Verna, a strongly fortified city on the Adige, with 52,000 inhabitants, and renowned for its antiquities, manufactures, and annual fairs; Vicenza, on the Bocchiglione, with numerous and splendid public edifices, silk manufactures, cattle trade, and 35,000 inhabitants. Udine, on the Roja, with important silk manufactures, and 23,000 inhabitants; Bassaro, on the Brenta, with a considerable trade in wine and silk, and 13,000 inhabitants; Trevino, on the road between Venice and Tyrol, with various important manufactures, and 20,000 inhabitants; Bellum, on the Piave, with a timber trade, and 12,000 inhabitants, and a number of small market towns.

## Turkey.

EUROPEAN Turkey comprises nearly all of the large south-eastern peninsula of Europe, situated between the Adriatic and the Black Sea; on the north, bounded by the Austrian and Russian empires, and on the south by Greece and the Archipelago, having an area of 209,422 square miles, and a



Turkish Sultana.

population of 12,500,000 inhabitants. The climate is generally mild and pleasant, and the soil, with the exception of some mountainous districts, very fertile; and produces, though badly and negligently cultivated, far more than what is required for home consumption. Indian corn, wheat, barley, rice, cotton, tobacco, madder, poppy, saffron, wine, olives, timber, salt, and cattle are produced to a great extent. — The mountains contain valuable ores, but mining is neglected. The manufactures of leather, carpets, and cotton goods are extensive and profitable. Commerce is chiefly carried on by foreigners, but there is a considerable inland traffic, in which the natives participate.

The government is absolute in form, though, in consequence of late political reforms, actually limited. The sovereign is



Turks.

commonly called Sultan, or Grand Seignior. The prime minister is called the Grand Vizier; and the court of the sultan, the Sublime Porte. The Mufti is the chief interpreter of the law, and ranks next in dignity to the sultan, as is also the case with the grand vizier. Governors of provinces are called Pachas, or Bashaws, and are of three different ranks, denoted by the number of horses' tails on their standard.\*

The ruling people are the Turks, or Osmanlis; but they number little more than 700,000 persons. The majority of the population consists of Bulgarians, Bozniacs, Servians, Wallachians, and other Slavonic tribes, and the remainder

\* Ungewitter.

of the Albanians, a mixed tribe, like the Greeks, the Armenians, the Jews, Gipsies, and the Franks, as other European foreigners are called in Turkey.\* The Turks, and the greater portion of the Albanians, Bozniacs, and Bulgarians, are Mohammedan in religious creed. The other nations, except the Jews and Gipsies, are Christians of various denominations.

The Turks are, in general, stout, well made, and robust, their complexions naturally fair, and their features handsome; their hair is of a dark auburn, or chestnut, and sometimes black, of which last colour are their eyes. The women are generally beautiful, extremely well made, and inclinable to fat. The deportment of the Turks is solemn, grave, and slow, and they affect to appear sedate, passive, and humble; but they are easily provoked, and their passions are furious and ungovernable; they are full of dissimulation, jealous, suspicious, and so immoderately vindictive, that they will abandon their avarice to gratify revenge. They have no charity for a Jew or a Christian, but are benevolent and kind to those who profess the same religion as themselves.

It is held highly commendable to provide for pilgrims or travellers; and for this purpose houses of accommodation are commonly erected on roads which are unprovided with fit places of reception for those who have occasion to take long journeys, and they are supplied with necessaries for the bed and table; the same spirit induces them to dig wells and erect fountains by the roadside, water being of the greatest importance to travellers, not only as a refreshment on account of the warmth of the climate, but for the performance of the ceremonies of a religion which enjoins frequent washing and purification with water. As they advance to old age, it is customary to dye their beards, to conceal the change of colour which begins to take place; and women at the same time usually metamorphose themselves in the like way, by colouring their hair, eyebrows, and eyelids. Their hands and feet are ornamented nearly in the same manner, with this differ-

\* Ungewitter.



ence, that the colour they choose for the purpose is a dusky yellow, with which they touch the tips of the fingers and toes, and drop a few drops of the preparation used in this operation on the hands and feet; some, indeed, as marks of superior elegance, stain a great part of their extremities, in the forms of flowers or figures, with a dye of a dark green cast; but this soon loses its beauty, and changes to a colour not less pleasing than the other.

The ladies wear drawers, very full, which reach to the shoes; they are made of thin rose-coloured damask, brocaded with silver flowers. The shoes are of white kid leather embroidered with gold; over these hangs a shift of fine white gauze, edged with embroidery, having white sleeves hanging halfway down the arm, and it is closed at the neck with a diamond button. A waistcoat is made to the shape, of white and gold damask, with long sleeves falling back, and edged with deep gold fringe; this should have diamond and pearl buttons. The caftan, of the same stuff with the drawers, is a robe exactly fitted to the shape, and reaching to the feet, with very long, straight, falling sleeves; over this is a girdle about four fingers broad, which all who can afford it have entirely of diamonds or other precious stones. The curdee, with a loose robe, is put on or thrown off according to the weather, being a rich brocade lined either with ermine or sables.

The head-dress is composed of a cap called talpoe, which in winter is of fine velvet embroidered with pearls or diamonds; and in summer of light shining silver stuff; this is fixed on one side of the head, from which it hangs a little way down with a gold tassel, and is bound on, either with diamonds or a rich embroidered handkerchief: on the other side of the head the hair is flat; and here the ladies are at liberty to show their fancy, some putting flowers, others a plume of heron feathers. The hair hangs at its full length behind, divided into tresses, braided with pearls or ribbons in great quantities.

In some of the districts a large gold or silver ring is hung

to the external cartilage of the woman's right nostril, which is perforated for the purpose. The dress of the men is equally splendid.

They are great admirers of a venerable beard, yet they shave their heads close, and use a proverbial expression in justification of this practice, "that the devil nestles in long hair." Their manner of living, with regard to food, is much like that which obtains among the Arabians. As wine and spirits are forbidden by the laws of Mahomet, the Turks practice another species of intoxication: they use opium very freely, which produces some of the immediate effects of drunkenness, inspiring them with an extraordinary cheerfulness, rousing them into unusual exertions, and occasioning a kind of temporary delirium.

Among the amusements of the Turks, the bagnios hold the first place. All cities and towns are provided with public baths, which are well adapted for the purposes of convenience and amusement. The entrance is into a large room, provided with a fountain or basin of water in the middle, and sofas round the walls: here the company assemble, enter into conversation, and prepare for bathing, by divesting themselves of their upper garments. A door opens from this room to a less spacious apartment, which is heated in a small degree, where the person who is about to bathe leaves the remaining part of his dress, and proceeds to the actual bathing-room, which is of a larger size. About the sides of this room are placed large stone basins, into which warm and cold water are brought by means of different pipes, so that a person may have the bath at any temperature he chooses. Before he enters the water, he uses a composition which effectually frees the body from all superfluous hairs; he is then carefully washed, and undergoes a smart friction by means of coarse cloths from one of the attendants. After this he is washed with a lather of soap, which being well cleaned away, he binds a napkin about his head, another round his middle, and a third over his shoulders, and in this state returns to the room where they first assembled, smokes his pipe, takes

coffee, and other refreshments, till he is disposed to resume his clothes and depart.

It is not unusual for two hundred ladies, attended by their respective slaves of the same sex, to assemble at one of these bagnios, and after having undergone the operation of bathing, to recline themselves on sofas, and either employ themselves in working, or engaged in conversation, taking coffee, sweetmeats, &c., themselves and attendants remaining unincumbered with the unnecessary ornaments of dress.

The Mohammedan religion consists of *two* points, which may be considered as the fundamental articles of that faith: and *five* of practice: the *former* are, that there is no god but God, and that Mahomet is his prophet; the latter are—That purifications of the body, by washing, are to be observed as an indispensable part of their duty to God; that prayers are to be offered at certain fixed times and seasons, as prescribed by the holy law; that alms are to be bestowed according to the ability of the giver; that it is necessary to fast during all the month of Ramazan; and that *frequent* pilgrimages to Mecca are *acceptable* to God, and *one* absolutely *necessary* to salvation.

The purifications are by means of water, when that can be procured, but in other cases the Koran indulges them with a substitution of fine sand. They are obliged to pray five times a day; these may, upon any emergency, be dispensed with, provided the person holds himself indebted in so many prayers, and discharges the obligation at his first convenience. The charity enjoined by the Koran is generally confined to the erection of public buildings, as mosques, caravanseras or inns on the road, fountains of water, bagnios, colleges, and bridges; little of it is applied in the immediate relief of the necessitous, except to the support of the Fakiers, who are continually wandering about the country. During the month Ramazan, all ranks of people abstain from eating and smoking till after sunset; but through the night all is festivity, the mosques and private houses are illuminated within and

without, and they take care amply to recompense themselves for the penances of the day.

After this season they perform the pilgrimage to Mecca. The caravan of Damascus, composed of pilgrims from Europe and Asia minor; the Arabian caravan; and the principal one from Cairo; then set out on their journey. They have all their stated time of departure and regular stages. Five or six days previously to that festival, the three caravans, consisting of about two hundred thousand men, and three thousand beasts of burden, unite and encamp at a few miles from Mecca. The pilgrims form themselves into detachments, and enter the town, to perform the ceremonies preparatory to the great one of sacrifice. They pass through a street of continual ascent, until they arrive at a gate on an eminence, called the "Gate of Health." From this station they behold the great mosque that encloses the house of Abraham, which they salute with the most profound devotion, twice repeating, "Peace be with the ambassador of God." Thence, at some distance, they ascend five steps, where they offer up their prayers, and descend with great silence and devotion. This ceremony must be performed seven times.

They afterward proceed to the great mosque, and walk seven times round the house of Abraham, exclaiming, "this is the house of God, and of his servant Abraham;" then kissing, with great reference, a black stone, said to have descended white from heaven, they proceed to the well of Zun-Zun, and plunge into it with all their clothes, continually repeating, "Forgiveness, God! forgiveness, God!" After this they drink a draught of the water and depart.

Mr. Eaton, in his survey of the Turkish empire, mentions many facts, exhibiting the resignation of the Turks to the severest affliction, which he ascribes to their belief in the doctrine of predestination.

The Turkish women and children (about 400) who were brought out of Ochakof when the city was taken, and the inhabitants put to the sword by the Russians, endured all their calamities with stoical patience. A perfect silence reigned

among them, not one woman weeping or lamenting, so as to be heard, though, perhaps, every one had lost a parent, a child, or a husband. One, in particular, sat in a remarkably melancholy posture, and when asked why she did not take courage, and bear misfortunes like a mussulman, as her companions did, she answered in these striking words, "*I have seen killed my father, my husband, and my children; I have only one child left.*" "And where is that," was the question immediately put; "*Here,*" she calmly said, and pointed to an infant by her side that had just expired.

The political power of the priests in Turkey is firmly rooted, nor have they omitted any means of perpetuating it. To found mosques, and endow them with treasures, is held to be one of the most meritorious works of a mussulman; and further provision is made for the education of youth destined to the service of religion and law, by the establishment of medresses or colleges. These are usually endowed for the instruction of youth in the elements of science.

Some years ago, there were in Constantinople alone, one thousand six hundred and fifty-three Mohammedan elementary schools, besides five hundred and fifteen colleges. In September, 1846, the sultan founded a university on the plan of other European institutions of the kind.\* The present sovereign, Abdul Meshid, seems very anxious to enlighten and elevate his people.

The court and seraglio form not only the most brilliant appendage to the Ottoman Porte, but one of the great moving springs of its political action. In this palace, or prison, are immured five or six hundred females, the most beautiful that can be found in the neighbouring realms of Europe, Asia, and Africa; wherever Turks can rule or Tartars ravage. The pachas and tributary princes vie with each other in gifts of this nature, which form the most effective mode of gaining imperial favour. Into these recesses only short and stolen glances have been cast by Europeans; but their reports at-

\* Ungewitter.

test a splendour like that which is celebrated in the Arabian tales; the walls and the ceilings are of olive or walnut wood, curiously carved, richly gilded, and often inlaid with mother-of-pearl, ivory, and porcelain; the floors spread with the richest Persian carpets. The sultan, however, does not marry, judging his place too high to admit any one to such an equality. From the multitude of beauties, however, he selects seven, who are called kadunis or favourites, while the remaining crowd are confounded under the appellation of odalisques, or slaves. The number seven cannot be exceeded; but when a vacancy is wanted, it can be effected by removing one of them to the old seraglio, a dignified retirement, which receives also the favourites of the prince immediately on his death. These imprisoned beauties are guarded by numerous bands of unfortunate slaves reduced to the state of eunuchs. The gates and outer apartments are guarded by white eunuchs; but black eunuchs, rendered safe by their deformity, are stationed in all the interior recesses. Many of these personages rise to great distinction, and the kislar aga, their chief, is one of the leading characters in the empire, and even a sort of head of the church. In another palace are reared a great body of ichoglans, or pages, trained in all graceful exercises, for the purpose of personal attendance on the sultan. They are often raised to high offices of state, though in that capacity they are viewed with utter contempt by the hardy chiefs who have forced their way by merit and services. Another class of eminent characters in this court consists of the mutes. A Turkish grandee, lolling on his sofa, requires incessant attendance: his pipe, sherbet, and slippers must be at any moment handed to him or to his guests; he must therefore have some one before whom he can speak without reserve, and without fear of his secrets being made public; but many, to reach such high employments, feign themselves to be labouring under these infirmities. Dwarfs, by a taste which seems common to uncultivated minds, are also favourites; and when any individual unites

the perfections of being deaf and dumb, and a dwarf, he becomes one to whom the highest value is attached.

Justice is administered by members of the ulema: those in the large towns are termed mollahs, and in the smaller towns cadis; the nominations being made by the sultan from a list presented by the mufti. The proceedings are conducted with the greatest simplicity. At the divan hanneh, or vizier's tribunal, there is a written statement of the case, which must however be comprised in a page, leaving room for the sentence at the bottom. The parties then plead; two or three witnesses are examined on each side; and the decision is given on the spot. Justice is thus neither costly nor tedious, but it is venal. Few judges are inaccessible to a bribe; and false witnesses are more numerous, and more shameless, than in almost any other country. After all, Turk against Turk has a tolerable chance; but those beyond the pale of the faith afford a mine of wealth to true believers, who, in opening a process against them, are almost certain to gain something.

The revenues of the Turkish empire cannot be accurately ascertained. The debt is fixed at \$36,000,000.

The military system of the Turks, formerly the terror of the greatest powers in Europe, and now despised by almost the meanest, has undergone no formal change. It is supported on a basis somewhat resembling the feudal militia, though without any thing of an hereditary character. All the lands are distributed, in portions of three hundred acres and upward, among the zaims and timariots, on condition that they bring into the field, and support at their own cost, a number of horsemen proportioned to the extent of their lots. The troops are, however, bound to keep to their standards only between the days of St. George and St. Demetrius; that is, between the middle of April and the middle of October. The above are termed the toprakli, or feudatory troops; the rest are the capiculi, or paid troops, who alone approximate to the character of a regular force. Of these last, the chief have hitherto been the janissaries, who for a long period

might be said to hold at their disposal the Ottoman empire; and their aga was one of its greatest officers. They originated in a peculiar policy of the first sultans, who, selecting the most vigorous of the young captives, trained them up in the Mohammedan religion, and in all the exercises fitting them for war. They were afterward, however, recruited out of the mussulman population, many of whom even solicited a nominal admission, with a view to the privileges and exemptions attached to the order. This powerful body was annihilated by the vigorous and bloody measures of Mahmoud II., who used the utmost exertion to organize a new force similar to that maintained by the other European powers. There is also a paid force of spahis, or cavalry. Of this force a great proportion is required for the body-guard of the sultan and pachas, and for the police; so that the field-armies of the Turks consist almost entirely of the toprakli, or feudatories, a huge tumultuary mass, resembling the armies of Europe during the feudal ages. Their order of encampment has been compared to a number of coins taken in the hand and scattered over a table; and their march resembles the career of the volcano, desolating every spot over which they pass: as they advance, the inhabitants flee to the mountains, and secrete all their most valuable effects. The Turkish soldiery make merely one vigorous push against the enemy, and if this fails they are discouraged, disperse, and return to their homes. Upon such a system, they cannot, in modern times, at all match in the field regular armies. It would be rash, however, to infer, from the poor figure they have made in all the Greek wars, that the Turkish empire would fall an easy prey to an invader. It has many defensive resources. The Turks have an excellent light cavalry; they skirmish well, and defend fortresses with great obstinacy; and in extremity the grand seignior can summon to arms the whole mass of the population, who are not slow to obey the call whenever impelled by any national motive, such as would be the invasion of the empire by an infidel army. The regular army consists of 124,000 men.



The rayahs, or tributary subjects of the empire, form a class subjected to a peculiar system of policy. The propagation of the Koran by the sword is a fundamental principle of the Mohammedan faith, and death inflicted on the infidel is esteemed the surest passport into paradise. To justify this slaughter, however, it is necessary that there should be resistance; and not to strike off the heads that bend, has become an established maxim. But the utmost boon which the vanquished giaour can hope is, that his life may be spared: his person, his property, his all, belong to the votaries of the true faith. An indiscriminate spoil was at first made; but policy afterward dictated to the sovereign the plan of commuting these indefinite claims for the fixed tribute or capitation called *haratsh*, which, with exclusion from all offices of trust and power, formed the only legal penalties. Of course, however, in such a government, various detached acts of oppression and extortion would be committed, against which the despised and abhorred Christian would in vain protest. The Greeks had three high offices to which they might aspire; that of Princes of Moldavia and Wallachia, and of dragoman, or interpreter; but these were all in the gift of the Porte; and the intrigues by which they were to be sought served still more to degrade the Greek character. Yet, even under this imperfect protection, the nation, being left in the exclusive possession of many industrious and lucrative occupations, insensibly accumulated a degree of wealth which raised them to importance, and excited that desire of independence which has produced such striking effects.

European Turkey is divided into four provinces, styled *Ejalets*, which are subdivided into districts, styled *Livas*, or *Sandjahs*. But the following is the division usually adopted: 1, Roumelia; 2, Bulgaria; 3, Macedonia; 4, Thessalia; 5, the Islands; 6, Albania; 7, Bosnia, and 8, Tributary Provinces.\*

Roumelia contains Constantinople, the great capital of the

\* Ungewitter.

empire, and Adrianople, the second city. The capital contains about 88,000 houses and about 900,000 inhabitants. Its situation is as beautiful as it is commodious. Seated on the Bosphorus, at the point where it communicates with the Propontis or Sea of Marmora, it is connected both with the Mediterranean and the Black Sea by a succession of straits, easily defensible, yet navigable for the largest vessels. The port is spacious and admirable. On the side of Europe and on that of Asia rich plains spread before the eye, bounded by the snowy tops of Hæmus and Olympus. The city itself, rising on seven hills, along the shore of the Bosphorus, embosomed in groves, from amid which numerous gilded domes ascend to a lofty height, presents a most magnificent spectacle. But the moment the interior is entered, all the magic scene disappears. The streets are narrow, winding, ill paved, and crowded; the houses low and gloomy; and the hills, which appeared majestic in the view, causing steep ascents and descents, prove excessively inconvenient. But the most fatal circumstance in the structure of Constantinople is, that the houses of rich and poor are alike entirely composed of wood, while chimneys are not generally used, but their place supplied by vessels of brass or earth put under the feet. These circumstances, joined to the usual improvidence of the Mohammedans, cause most tremendous conflagrations. It is even believed that the Turkish public employ the setting fire to the city as a mode of communicating their opinion on the conduct of their rulers. The scene is terrible, from the extent of the blaze, the deep rolling of the drum from the top of the minarets, and the crowds that assemble, among whom even the grand seignior himself is expected to be present. It is reckoned that Constantinople rises entire from its ashes in the course of every fifteen years; but no advantage is ever taken of the circumstance to improve its aspect. The fallen streets are immediately reconstructed with all their imperfections, and the houses rebuilt of the same fragile materials. This city contains, however, some structures that are very magnificent. Among them stands foremost the mosque of

St. Sophia, accounted the finest in the world, first built as a church by Justinian, and converted by the conquering Turks to its present use. The mosques of Sultan Achmet and of Suleyman are equally vast and splendid, but not marked by the same classic taste. The numerous minarets are in general airy and elegant, and add greatly to the beauty of the city.

Pera and Scutari, two appendages to Constantinople, in any other vicinity, would rank as cities. Pera is the Frank quarter, where reside the ambassadors and agents of all the European courts, and under their protection all Christians whose trade does not fix them at the port. It has thus become very populous, and even crowded; so that houses are obtained with difficulty. Scutari stands on the Asiatic side, in a beautiful and cultivated plain, and presents a picturesque aspect, from the mixture of trees and minarets. It carries on a very considerable caravan trade with the interior of Asia. A great forest near it contains the most splendid cemetery of the empire, as all the grandees of Constantinople seek to deposit their remains in Asia, which they consider as a Holy Land, in the possession of true believers, while Europe is almost entirely the prey of the "infidel." In this vicinity is situated the castle of the Seven Towers used by government as a state prison.

Bulgaria forms a long plain, between the Balkan and the Danube. Some portions are rugged, others marshy; but upon the whole it possesses a large share of beauty and fertility. The Bulgarians, a race originally Tartar, now profess the Greek religion; and are quiet, industrious, and hospitable. Sophia, the capital, at the foot of the mountains, is a large town, with fifty thousand inhabitants, and carries on a great inland trade between Salonica and the interior countries of eastern Europe. It is also the usual rendezvous of the Turkish armies taking the field against the Russians or Austrians. Schmula, near the entrance of another of the great passes of the Balkan, forms rather a chain of rudely entrenched positions than a regular fortress; yet such is the obstinacy

with which the Turks defend such situations, that this city has repeatedly baffled the utmost efforts of the Russian army, which in 1828 was obliged to retreat with signal disaster. Even in Diebitsch's victorious campaign of 1829, he was unable to reduce the place, but passed it, and, crossing the Balkan to Adrianople, intimidated the Porte into a peace. Schmula is a large city, with numerous mosques and minarets glittering with burnished tin plates. It is distinguished by numerous workmen in tin and brass. Ternovo, the ancient capital of the Bulgarian kings, commands another of the Balkan passes. Varna, a port on the Black Sea, is also a leading military station, and was the theatre of a signal victory gained by Amurath the Great over the Hungarian troops.

A chain of fortresses on the Danube, large, and strongly fortified, formed long the main bulwarks of the Turkish empire. The chief are, Widin, the residence of a pacha; Giurgevo, Nicopoli, Rutshuk, Silistria. They are all of nearly similar character, extensive and populous, uniting with their importance as military stations that derived from an extensive trade along the Danube. Rutshuk is the largest, containing seven thousand houses, inhabited by the Greeks, Jews, and Armenians, who carry on an active trade. The country round is a dead flat as far as the eye can reach. Giurgevo is considered by Mr. Walsh the most complete fortress in the empire. It is situated amid dismal swamps; but in the vicinity are mines of rock salt, white as snow.

Macedonia is the finest province in Turkey, having a soil superior to that of Sicily. It is situated between Roumelia and Thessalia. Salmira, its capital, on the gulf of the same name, is, next to Constantinople, the most important seaport in Turkey, and it contains with numerous factories, dyeries, and antiquities, about seventy thousand inhabitants. Vodina, Drama, Vardar, Seres—noted for its cotton manufactures—Rostendil, Orfan, and Rasaveria, are the other important towns of the province. The majority of the people are employed in agriculture, which is pursued with remarkable success. The province is very wealthy and prosperous.

Thessalia, situated between Macedonia and Greece, has an area of 3514 square miles, and more than three hundred thousand Greek inhabitants, who are noted for industry and enterprise. Larissa, its capital, on the Salambria river, with noted dyeries and manufactures, vineyards and commerce, has twenty-five thousand inhabitants. Trikala, Turnovo, Amabeakia, Farsa, and Vilo, are also distinguished for their valuable manufactures.

The islands in the Archipelago and in the Mediterranean belonging to Turkey are,—Candia, Lemnos, Thamos, Samothraki and Imbo. Candia has an area of 4008 square miles, and a population of one hundred and forty thousand inhabitants, one-half of whom are Turks, and the remainder Greeks, Jews, Abadiotes, and Armenians. Its capital, Candia, has twelve thousand inhabitants, and there are several other important towns upon it. Lemnos has an area of 160 square miles and eight thousand inhabitants, and is noted for its "Lemnian earth." Thasos has an area of eighty-five square miles, and six thousand inhabitants, and is noted for its wines and marble. Samothratki has an area of thirty-six square miles, and fifteen hundred inhabitants. Imbro has an area of eighty-five square miles, and four thousand inhabitants, and is very fertile.\*

The principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, on the south of the Danube, form an extensive region, about 360 miles in length, and 150 in breadth, presenting a very similar aspect and character. They compose a vast plain, reaching from the river to the southern and eastern boundaries of the Carpathian mountains. The districts adjoining to these eminences are varied and picturesque, but toward the Danube become flat and marshy. The plains, particularly in Moldavia, are covered with almost innumerable stagnant pools, which communicate to the air pestilential qualities. The climate is subject to singular variations: in summer extremely hot, while in winter, under the latitude of the south of France, the Danube

\* Ungewitter.

is for six weeks of the year so completely frozen as to bear the heaviest carriages. The soil, where not actually inundated, is exceedingly productive. Wheat is raised of excellent quality; but the Turks have imposed restrictions on the disposal of it, and the occupation of pasturage is preferred. The peasantry are a laborious, oppressed race, of simple habits, and living in rude abodes. They are of low stature, weak, with light silky hair, and mostly dressed in sheepskins. The Wallachians form a considerable part of the population of Transylvania and of all the neighbouring countries. These two countries were once governed by native princes, and have not finally renounced all pretensions to liberty; yet the mixture of rude independence with debasing despotism does not cause the yoke to press at all lighter on the body of the people. The boyars exercise over them the same rude tyranny as the European nobles during the feudal ages; while the Prince of Moldavia and the Hospodar of Wallachia, though they must belong to the Greek nation, do not, on that account, exercise any milder yoke over their countrymen. Appointed by the Porte from favour or purchase, they employ their arbitrary sway solely to practise the most enormous exactions, and amass immense wealth during their short and precarious rule. The body of the people are of the Greek nation and faith; and in these countries the Greeks first raised the standard of independence: they experienced for some time a gleam of success; but their efforts were speedily and completely crushed. The cities in this region are large and rude. Jassy, the capital of Moldavia, is situated in the interior of the country, amid a marshy district, which renders it unhealthy. Galacz, at the junction of the Danube and the Sigeth, carries on most of the trade, and might attain considerable importance if the navigation of the former river were made free. Bucharest, the capital of Wallachia, is a much larger city, containing about 100,000 souls. It is built upon a dismal swamp, to render the streets passable over which, they are covered with boards; but, in the intervals, water springs up from dirty kennels beneath. Here,

according to Mr. Walsh, European and oriental costumes and manners unite in nearly equal proportions. The people are clothed half in hats and shoes, half in calpacs and pelisses; the carriages are driven as often by buffaloes as by horses. The nobles live in extravagance and dissipation, while the people are plunged in poverty. The trade of the city is very extensive.

Servia and Bosnia are two countries of smaller extent, reaching westward from Bulgaria, and, like it, situated between the mountains and the Danube. They do not, however, present any similarly vast plain, but are penetrated by lofty ranges, through which flow numerous rivers, of which the most important are in Servia, the Moravia, in Bosnia, the Drino, and Bosna. The territories consist thus in a great measure of a succession of fertile valleys, in which wheat, maize, and other valuable grains are reared; and though the people are reproached with want of agricultural industry, Bosnia at least produces grain somewhat more than enough for its own supply. Cattle, however, is the chief product in both; and they possess some valuable breeds. The hills are covered with extensive forests, and abound in fruit trees, and in valuable aromatic herbs and plants. Neither the Servians nor Bosnians are under entire subjection to the Porte. The former are chiefly of the Greek church, and under Czerni Georges made a most gallant resistance to the Turkish power, and extorted extensive privileges. The Servians, though without much literature, have a native poetry, which has attracted admiration. The Bosnians, also, though Mohammedans, possess many feudal rights, having thirty-six hereditary captains, and even deputies from the towns. Their language is a dialect of the Servian. Polygamy is seldom practised, and their females appear in public unveiled.

Several large cities are found in these provinces. The capital of Servia is Belgrade, a fortress of extraordinary strength, long considered the key of Hungary, and disputed with the utmost obstinacy between the Austrians and Turks. It is now equally distinguished as a seat of inland commerce,

being the great entrepôt between Turkey and Germany, and is supposed to contain about thirty thousand inhabitants. Bosna Serai, capital of Bosnia, is still larger, having been estimated to contain sixty-eight thousand inhabitants. It traffics in arms and jewelry, and receives numerous caravans from Constantinople. Such is the spirit of independence here, that the Turkish governor is allowed to reside in the city only three days of the year. His fixed residence is at Traunick. Jaicza, the ancient capital of Bosnia, is now in decay.

Albania is a remarkable and important country. It extends about two hundred miles along the Gulf of Venice and the Mediterranean, and has an interior breadth varying from thirty to one hundred miles. It is entirely rugged and mountainous, diversified by numerous streams and lakes, and of an aspect extremely picturesque. The inhabitants, a race of bold mountaineers, have distinguished themselves by their valour from the earliest ages. This was the domain of Pyrrhus, whose victories in Italy made him so formidable to Rome. In the decline of the Greek empire, Albania rose, under its present name, to the character of an independent kingdom. When attacked by the Turks, it made a most gallant resistance; and the exploits of Scanderberg, its hero, might adorn the pages of romance. Even at the beginning of the present century, Ali Pacha, a native of the country, erected a power almost completely independent of the Porte, extending over several of the surrounding countries. At length he was overpowered, betrayed, his head cut off, and suspended from the gate of the seraglio at Constantinople. The Turks thus re-established their dominion, and renewed the division into the four pachalics; those of Scutari, Ochrida, Vallona, and Butrinto.

The inhabitants of Albania are estimated at 1,200,000; and though these include a considerable number of Turks and Greeks, the basis consists of a peculiar native race, differing completely from all others in the empire. Their conversion to the Mohammedan creed has been very imperfect: the



males of a family go usually to the mosque, while the females attend church, and no discord arises out of this difference; so that the Turks regard them as little better than infidels. The Albanian is of middle stature, with an oval visage, and high cheekbones; bearing an erect and majestic air. He piques himself on a frank and open demeanour, holding in contempt the art and dissimulation of the Greek. He has nothing, too, of the inert solemnity of the Turk; is gay and active, yet a stranger to the habits of regular industry. He walks constantly armed; his delight is in combat, and even in rapine. The mountainous tracts are infested with numerous bands of robbers, which most of the Albanians join, for at least some part of their lives, without the least shame: it is common for one to speak of the time when he was a robber. They seek military employment also in the service of the sultan, and of the different pachas, particularly that of Egypt. Although they form only a tumultuary assemblage of men, with scarcely any subordination or regular distribution into corps, yet they are so individually active and intrepid, that they have rendered themselves formidable even to highly disciplined troops: they compose the only infantry in the Turkish armies that is at all effective.

Joannina, which Ali made the capital, has a very picturesque situation on a lake, surrounded by lofty mountains, and is supposed to contain a population of forty thousand. The houses are irregularly built, intermingled with gardens and trees. A great proportion of the inhabitants are Greek. Arta, on a gulf of the same name, is the chief theatre of trade. Scutari, or Scodra, the capital of Upper Albania, is situated in a rich plain; has a population of about sixteen thousand; and carries on some considerable manufactures of cloth. Its pacha is now the most considerable potentate in Albania.



## Greece.

GREECE, as made into a kingdom into 1832, comprises the peninsula between the Ionian Sea and the Archipelago, and is bounded on the north by European Turkey, together with those islands in the Archipelago called the Cyclades and the Northern Sporades. The surface of the country is generally mountainous, but there are many beautiful plains and fertile districts. Five million acres are computed to be adapted to agriculture; more than a million and a half of acres being woodland, eighteen millions used for vineyards, and six thousand used for rearing olives and currants. Grazing is profitably pursued. The area of Greece is 19,149 square miles; its population amounts to about one million inhabitants.\*

The government is a constitutional monarchy, and Prince Otho, of Bavaria, has been king since 1832. Russian influence is supreme at present in the Grecian councils, and therefore the government is not as liberal in its measures as the natives had hoped. Since the revolution there has been a constant strife of factions, keeping the country in a very unsettled and unpromising state. Of late, the power of Russia seems to have secured some degree of order and quiet. The kingdom is divided into ten provinces, styled *nomos*, or nomarchies, which are subdivided into forty-seven districts or eparchies. There are three principal sections of the kingdom, known as Linadia, Morea, and the Islands. The established religion is that of the Greek church, but there are about twenty-five thousand Roman Catholics.†

The character of the modern Greeks, both before and since the revolution, has been painted in somewhat unfavourable colours. They are represented as addicted to the vices incident to every despised and oppressed people; avarice, intrigue, cunning, servility, and as being almost entirely governed by motives of self-interest. The reproach, however,

\* Ungewitter.

† Ibid.



Greeks.

seems to be mainly due to the inhabitants of the towns, and the chiefs, particularly the Fanariots, or rich Greeks of Constantinople. The peasantry are allowed to be a very fine race; and indeed, the great actions performed in the course of the struggle for independence must silence those who pretend that the nation has lost all its ancient energies. "With all their faults," says Mr. Humphreys, "they are highly gifted; they possess a fine genius, and an acuteness in intellect, a tact, and a natural grace in manner, unequalled by any other nation." Even the capitani in their country-seats maintain a dignified and courteous hospitality, and a paternal kindness toward their retainers, resembling what is occasionally seen among the old lairds of Scotland. The female sex enjoy greater liberty, and are treated with much more respect, than among the Turks. They are distinguished by

beauty, and by a remarkable delicacy of features and complexion. The Greeks of the cities, on the contrary, when they get rich, study to imitate the manners, and even the costumes, of the Turkish pachas, the only models of grandeur that exist within their observation. "The Greeks," says Count Pecchia, "*sit à la Turquie*, and will continue to do so for a great length of time; they eat pilau *à la Turquie*; they smoke with long pipes; they write with their left hand; they walk out accompanied with a long troop of armed people; they salute, they sleep, they loiter about *à la Turquie*. Initiated into that mingled servility and indolence which despotism tends to introduce, they exhibit many examples of that moral degradation which has been hastily imputed to the Greek nation in general."

According to a late writer, the lower ranks in Greece have a religion of mere forms, while the upper ranks have no religion at all. The most respectable of the clergy are the monks or caloyers, out of whom are chosen the bishops, and even the patriarch or general head of the religion, who before the late convulsions, resided at Constantinople. Some of them are men of theological knowledge, who lead regular lives; but a violent spirit of intrigue prevails in pursuit of the dignities of the church, which are bestowed by election. The secular clergy consist of the papas or village priests, who, as is usual among an unenlightened people, exercise the most unbounded influence over the minds of the lower ranks. This influence, though often abused, is, perhaps, on the whole beneficial; but these papas seem to exert themselves as little as any class in infusing just views and sentiments into their parishioners. Some of them even scruple not to take the field along with the robbers, and receive a portion of the booty.

Learning, in Greece, where it once flourished with such unrivalled splendour, had fallen into a state of total extinction. With wealth and the spirit of independence, however, had arisen a strong desire to revive the ancient intellectual glory of their country, and some progress had been made.

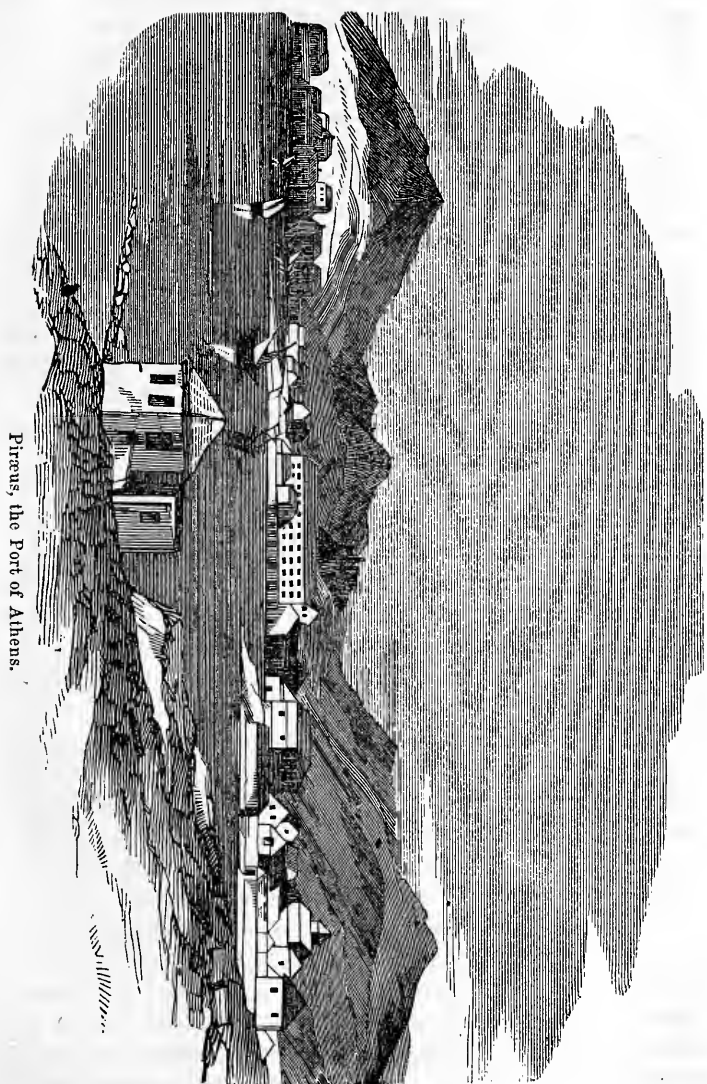
Several schools and colleges were founded, and in a flourishing state; among which that of Scio was above all conspicuous. The most distinguished young men were sent to be educated in the French and German seminaries. Greece could boast several writers of some eminence, and many of the best works of the western writers had been translated. The Turks viewed this career with jealous eyes. Two literary men, (one, the translator of Anacharsis, and the other an eminent poet, who had endeavoured to arouse in his countrymen their ancient spirit,) having been basely delivered by Austria, were put to death. Yet the public libraries continued in a state of progressive advance, down to the period of the revolution, when they were almost all destroyed; and Greece seemed to be thrown back many steps in the career of letters. As soon, however, as the government had acquired a degree of consistence, they turned their immediate attention to this object; and, really, considering the pressure of so dreadful a war, effected wonders. They established schools of mutual instruction at Athens, Argos, Tripolizza, Missolonghi, and most of the islands. They decreed the formation at Argos of an academy on a great scale, where every requisite of an intellectual culture might be united; also of central schools and libraries. All these institutions are yet only in their infancy.

Among the amusements of the modern Greeks, the dance seems to stand foremost. They scarcely meet without dancing; and frequently, according to ancient custom, in the open air, or the areas of their churches. Many of their dances have a classic character, and are probably of antique origin. They have a grand circular dance, one of a very intricate figure, in celebration of the vintages, and one called the creene, supposed to have been invented by Theseus. Their dances are often choral, accompanied with songs; and their taste for music is very general. Foot races, wrestling, throwing the disc, undoubtedly handed down from antiquity, still maintain their place among the youth. The *athletæ* pursue the exercise of wrestling in a manner which appeared

to Pouqueville entirely similar to that which, according to ancient writers, was practised at the Olympic games. They present themselves undressed from the waist upward, music plays, they advance with measured steps, beating time, and animating themselves by humming certain airs. At the close of the contest a prize is bestowed on the victor.

The dress of the Greeks is formed on the model of the Turkish, either from imitation, or from adoption of the same oriental pattern. Since the commencement of their independence, they have even made it a kind of triumph to display the green turban and other symbols which Moslem bigotry had prohibited to be worn by any infidel. In general, the attire of all who can afford it is gaudy and glittering, covered with gold and silver embroidery, and with the most brilliant colours. Above all, the arms of the chiefs are profusely adorned, mounted with silver and even jewels. The simplicity which a more refined taste has introduced into the costume of the western Europeans is held by them in contempt. The Greek female walks abroad in a robe of red or blue cloth, over which is spread a thin flowing veil of muslin. At home she is, as it were, uncased; and when the traveller is admitted into the gynecæum, he finds the girl, like Thetis, treading on a soft carpet, her white and delicate feet naked; her nails tinged with red. Her trousers of fine calico hang down loosely, the lower portion embroidered with flowers. Her veil is of silk, exactly suited to the form of the body, which it covers rather than conceals. A rich zone encompasses her waist, fastened before by clasps of silver gilded. She wears bracelets of gold, and a necklace of the gold coin called *zechins*. Much time is spent in combing and braiding the hair.

The food of the Greeks, through the combined influence of poverty, and the long fasts enjoined by their religion, is composed in a great measure of fish, vegetables, and fruit. Caviare is the national ragout, and, like other fish dishes, is eaten seasoned with aromatic herbs. Snails dressed in garlic are also a favourite dish. Their most valued fruits are olives, melons, water-melons, and especially gourds, which Pouque-



Piræus, the Port of Athens.

ville says they prize almost like manna from heaven; but their extravagant use is suspected to be injurious to the health. The Greek pastry, combined of honey and oil, is indigestible to any stomach but that of a Greek.

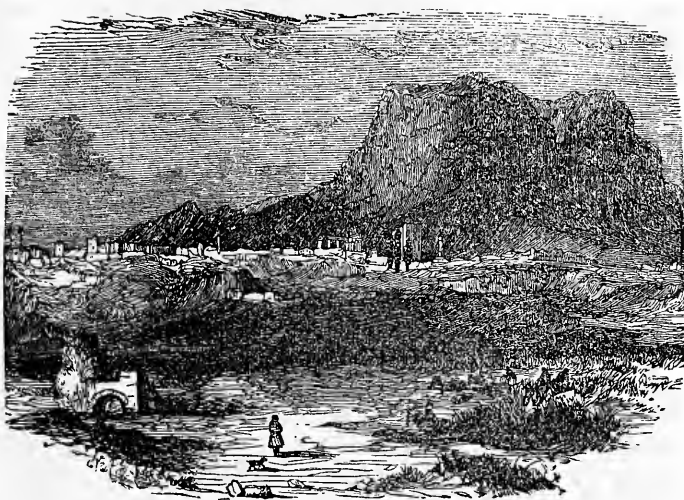
The army of Greece consists of about 4060 men, and the navy of thirty-three vessels, among which are two sloops-of-war, three brigs, two steamers, twelve gun-boats, etc.\* The military resources of Greece, however, are extensive, and in the war of independence they proved that they could bring a great body of fighting men into the field, and equip an efficient navy.

The section Livadia comprises the country anciently known as Hellas. Athens, the capital of the kingdom, so famous for its ancient glory and its monuments of art, is rapidly reviving. In 1845 it had a population of 31,700, and its present amount is about 35,000. The city is laid out according to a regular plan, and contains many new and magnificent edifices, as well as all the accessories of modern civilization. A fine road connects Athens with its seaport Pyreus, and a considerable commerce is carried on. The Acropolis and Parthenon, as well as other monuments of ancient art, attract many strangers to the city. The other chief towns in this province are Lidoriki, Livadia, Amphusa, Lamia, New Patral, Atalante, Vrachori, Missolonghi, and Lepanto.

Morea, the ancient Peloponnesus, contains Napoli di Romania, a city on the gulf of the same name, with 13,000 inhabitants; Pronia, a sort of suburb of Napoli di Romania, with 13,000 inhabitants; Argos, with 6000 inhabitants; Hydra, upon the island of the same name, noted for the bold and enterprising spirit of its people, contains many beautiful edifices, and 18,000 inhabitants; Patras, near the entrance of the Gulf of Lepanto, with extensive commerce, and 10,000 inhabitants; Arcadia, or Ryparissa, on the Gulf of Arcadia, with considerable trade, and 4000 inhabitants; Sparta, recently founded upon the site of old Sparta, containing already 6000 inhabitants; and other busy places. Corinth, once a

\* Ungewitter.





Corinth.

large and splendid city, has now not more than 2000 inhabitants. Its ruins attract many strangers.

The principal islands are: Negropont, or Eubæa, with an area of 1480 square miles, and 10,000 inhabitants—the two chief cities, Chalkis and Karystos, having respectively 6000 and 2000 inhabitants; the Northern Sporades, comprising the four isles of Skyros, Skopelos, Skiathos, and Haloresus; the Cyclades, comprising twenty-one islands in the Archipelago, the most populous and productive of which are Syra, containing the important commercial city of Hermopolis, with 30,000 inhabitants; the isles of Tenos, the islands of Milo, Paros, Debos, Naxos, and Thera, or Santarin. Grain, wine, olive oil, and fruits are the chief productions of these islands, and their inhabitants are industrious and enterprising.

### The Ionian Islands.

THE Ionian islands, seven in number, lying in the Ionian sea, at the entrance of the Adriatic, have been formed into an

aristocratic republic, under the protection of Great Britain, whose sovereign appoints the lord high commissioner, the actual ruler. The area of the seven islands is 1608 square miles. The climate is mild, and the soil, even of the mountainous portions, very fertile. The chief productions are olives, currant wines, silks, and cottons; and the commerce, which depends upon these commodities, is considerable.

The government is aristocratic. The legislative power is vested in an assembly of forty members, eleven of whom are life-members, and the executive power in a senate composed of six members of the legislature, and a secretary of state, appointed by the lord high commissioner. The inhabitants are chiefly Greeks, but there are a large number of English and Italians. The Greeks are divided into three classes, the nobility, burghers, and peasantry. The nobility possess nearly all the real estate, and occupy all the higher political and ecclesiastical offices.\* The people are generally enlightened, in consequence of the well-established school system; and, being very industrious and enterprising, they may rise to great power and prosperity. Besides 1600 Greek militia, 4000 regular troops are kept in the islands by Great Britain. Corfu is the chief British naval station in this part of the Mediterranean.

The group consists of the island of Corfu, which contains the large and strong city of Corfu, and about 64,500 inhabitants; Paxo, noted for its olives, and containing 5000 inhabitants; Santa Maura, containing several towns, and 18,600 inhabitants; Cephalonia, containing Argostoli, and other important manufacturing and trading towns, and 70,000 inhabitants; Theaki, noted for excellent wines and olives, and containing 10,000 inhabitants; Zante, very fertile and populous, containing the important city of Zante, and about 39,000 inhabitants; and Cerigo, or Cythera, containing 11,700 inhabitants.

\* Ungewitter,

## Italy.

ITALY, the theatre of so many great events, is one of the finest countries in the world in regard to soil and climate, and its people and institutions are calculated to awaken a deep interest. It is bounded on the north, and partly on the west, by the vast and continuous range of the highest Alps, which separate her from what she terms the ultra-montane regions of France, Germany, and Switzerland. All the rest of her circuit is enclosed by the Mediterranean and its great gulfs, of which the Adriatic, in the east, separates her from the opposite shores of Greece and Illyria. On the west she borders on the broadest basin of the Mediterranean, beyond which are the shores of France and Spain. On the extreme south she almost approaches the African coast. The greatest length is north and south from about  $36^{\circ} 40'$ , or 700 English miles; the extreme breadth, between the Rhone in Savoy and the Isonzo, lies between  $6^{\circ}$  and  $18^{\circ}$  west longitude, and may comprehend 350 English miles. This applies only to the broad belt of Northern Italy, as all the rest of the territory stretches obliquely in the form of a long narrow boot, the average breadth of which does not exceed 100 miles. The whole extent may be reckoned at 117,090 square miles, including Sicily and Sardinia.

The surface of Italy is the most finely diversified of perhaps any country in the globe. It has the loftiest mountains, and the most beautiful plains in Europe. All the chains of Alps, the Cottian, the Pennine, the Lepontine, the Rhætian, the Julian, which belong only in part to other kingdoms, range along her frontier. Some of their proudest pinnacles, indeed, Mount Rosa, St. Bernard, the Simplon, St. Gothard, Oerteles, are within the Swiss territory; but their white summits are seen amid the clouds in continuous grandeur along the whole extent of the plains of Lombardy and Piedmont. The Apennine is a chain purely Italian. It branches off first from the

Maritime Alps on the western frontier, and runs for a long space eastward, leaving on the south only a narrow plain between it and the Mediterranean; while on the north it forms the boundary of Piedmont and Lombardy. On the Tuscan border it gradually bends round to the south and south-east, following, or rather prescribing the form of the peninsula, of which it occupies the centre in one unbroken line. It does not aspire to the awful height, or wrap itself in the perpetual snows of the Alps. Its highest pinnacle in the Abruzzo, called the great rock of Italy, does not rise above 9000 feet. These mountains are consequently, in this climate, throughout, covered with luxuriant foliage; on the lower slopes are the vine and the olive, higher up, the various forest trees, among which the chestnut affords copious food to the inhabitants. They enclose finely cultivated valleys, and are full of deep, intricate, and wooded defiles. As their branches, dividing into low hills of varied form, touch upon the fine plains along the Mediterranean, they produce a variety of bright and smiling scenes, which entitle Italy to be considered as the peculiar region of landscape. In the southern quarter they assume a very formidable and volcanic character, pouring deluges of burning lava from the cone of Vesuvius, and convulsing Calabria with the most terrible earthquakes. Their aspect in that country is peculiarly formidable and rugged. Beyond the straits of Messina, where they present to the mariner the perilous forms of Scylla and Charybdis, they cover Sicily with mountains, among which the celebrated peak of Etna rises to a height which only the Alps can surpass, while it throws out, amid the snows, volcanic eruptions as remarkable as those of Vesuvius.

The plains of Italy are as remarkable for their extreme beauty as the mountains for their grandeur. The most extensive is that of the Po, or of Lombardy, between the Alps and Apennines, which, being profusely watered, highly cultivated, and under a genial climate, is, perhaps, the richest and most productive region in Europe. The Apennines, in their course southward through the centre of Italy, divide it into

two plains, of which that on the east is narrow, and often crossed by branches from the main ridge, which present their bold cliffs to the Adriatic. On reaching the Neapolitan territory, the plain becomes wider and more fertile, being covered with rich pastures and vast plantations of olives. But it is on the western side that nature most profusely displays her beauties, and that the grand seats of civilization and power have been established. The Tuscan champaign is scarcely considered as composed of more than two broad valleys, those of Florence and of Pisa; but the *Campagna Felice* of Naples, the voluptuous environs of Capua, appear to unite all the richness of Lombardy, with aspects much more varied and picturesque, and are usually considered the most delightful country in Europe. All this side of Italy, however, is subject to a dreadful scourge, the maremma, or pestilential influence arising from a marshy and swampy surface. The Pontine Marshes are in this respect so dangerous, that in the hot season they can scarcely be crossed, even hastily, without the peril of death. But it is round the imperial city itself, and at its very gates, that the maremma appears peculiarly desolating. The campagna of Rome, which cultivation and draining rendered formerly one of the finest spots of Italy, has, under the present proud and indolent rule, been so far neglected, that the pernicious influences of its low and swampy soil have gained a fearful ascendancy. They have rendered it uninhabitable for a great part of the year; and this "storied plain" is become a desert, covered with a few scanty herds; and a deep solitude now encircles the fallen metropolis of the world.

The rivers of Italy scarcely correspond to their fame, or to the lofty and classic recollections attached to their names. The Po, which waters the plain of Lombardy, and drains all the waters of the Alps and northern Apennine, can alone be ranked among the great rivers of Europe. It rises on the frontier of France, amid the loftiest recesses of the Cottian Alps, and rolls due east the whole breadth of Italy to the Adriatic, a course of about 400 miles. Its tributaries on both

sides are very numerous, though none have space to expand into great rivers. The Alpine streams of the Tesino, the Ad-da, and the Oglio, are absorbed soon after they have left their deep mountain valleys or lakes. The Adige makes its way entirely over from Germany in the valley between the Rhætian and Julian Alps, and falls into the Adriatic not far from the Po. These rivers being always full, and crossing the main line of communication, form important military barriers. They preserve also the plain in a state of perpetual fertility, though they often cause considerable calamity by their inundations. The tributaries from the south are also numerous, but, with the exception of the Tanaro and the river of Genoa, of no remarkable magnitude. The rivers of Lower Italy would scarcely deserve mention, but for the high associations of history and poetry. The far-famed Tiber itself, which on this ground, "with scorn the Danube and the Nile surveys," is described by Addison as deriving its scanty stores from an unfruitful source. It drains, however, a considerable extent of the Apennine, and its entire course may be 150 miles. The Arno of Florence, and the Lirio of Campagna, are only distinguished for the beauty of the vales through which they meander.

Lakes are not a feature very characteristic of Italy. Nevertheless, the waters which descend from the southern face of the Alps, spread into the long and winding lakes, Maggiore, Como, and Garda, which extend into the plain of Lombardy. The scenery of these lakes has not the grand and solemn character of those of Switzerland, which are enclosed in the depth of the highest Alps; but they are beautiful in the extreme. The lower banks are bordered by gentle hills covered with vines and luxuriant verdure; while their heads are crowned by the snowy summits of the Alps. The Apennine is not a lake-producing chain; it only forms on its eastern border a few that are small, and very beautiful, Perugia, Celano, Bolsena, &c. Sicily is also without lakes.

The productive wealth of Italy has suffered greatly in the decline of her other sources of prosperity. Yet such is the

felicity of her soil and climate, and so considerable are the remains of her industry, that the entire produce of her land and labour is still ample and valuable.

Agriculture, as Smith has observed, is one of those plants which takes such deep root, that only extreme tyranny and misrule, and scarcely even these, can eradicate them. Italy is now dependent upon other countries for the superb fabrics with which she formerly supplied them; her ships no longer cover the Mediterranean; her merchants, who were once her nobles and her princes, retain only the shadow of mighty names. But the plains of the Po, the Arno, and the Gargigliano are still cultivated like gardens; and the agricultural produce, after supplying a very dense population, affords a large surplus for export.

Culture, in Italy, is conducted by a class of farmers to whom we have nothing analogous in our part of the world. The stock is furnished half by the landlord, and half by the tenant; and the produce is equally divided between them. The lease is only from year to year; but the tenant who pays his rent, and does not give any serious offence, is never removed. Mr. Forsyth considers the productiveness as being invariably in proportion to the smallness of the property; but the cause probably is, that, under a system of management where the landlord co-operates, the part of those holding large estates committed to stewards and substitutes is commonly very ill done, and their avidity for money shows itself only in extortion. The property of the great ecclesiastical nobles of Rome has thus been converted into a pestilential desert. In Lombardy and Tuscany, however, the mercantile intelligence of the opulent owners has been employed in important rural improvements; the wealth of these districts is chiefly due to the astonishing works constructed at an early period for the purpose of irrigation. Several of them were executed at periods prior to the era of authentic record; others in the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries. The aqueducts, sluices, and other works connected with them, are still the admiration of engineers. They are

now so divided and subdivided, as to convey the means of irrigation almost into every field; and in this southern clime, where nothing almost but water is wanted, the increase of fertility is almost incredible. The produce is sometimes more than tripled; and grass may be mown three, four, and five times in the year. The property of water, thus the grand instrument of cultivation, is fixed and distributed by the minutest regulations. Every spring newly discovered belongs to the proprietor of the ground, and is by him immediately converted into a little canal. The enclosures are small, and surrounded, for the sake of shade, by poplars and mulberry trees, which give the country a rich, wooded appearance. The farmsteadings are kept very neat and clean. In the Tuscan vale of the Arno, the irrigating system is practised on a different and still more elaborate method. The steeps of the Apennine, from which the waters poured down only in irregular torrents, seemed incompatible with such a process. Recourse was had to the terrace system, which, though not uncommon in Asia, is in Europe almost exclusively Italian. The processes by which level spots have been formed on the sides of the steepest mountains, naked rocks covered with earth, torrents confined within walls, and guided in little canals along almost every field, could only have been effected by the Florentine merchants in their greatest prosperity. The people of the present age with difficulty support the heavy expenses of repairing and keeping up these most useful works. The cultivation in Naples does not require such elaborate processes. All that is there wanted is shade, which is procured by dividing the country into very small fields of less than an acre, and planting each side with high trees, round which vines are trained. The land is almost entirely tilled with the spade; but the poor cultivator is obliged to give two-thirds instead of one-half, to the proprietor. The Neapolitan Apennine is not cultivated with the same elaborate care as the Tuscan; but nature profusely covers it with the chestnut and the olive. An entirely different system prevails in the great maremmas, or plains along the sea-coast, which, from



some cause not fully ascertained, are filled at a certain season with air so pestilential, that human beings cannot remain for any length of time without the loss of health, and even of life. These wide plains, surrounding the greatest cities of Italy, present a scene of the most dreary desolation, and are covered merely with wandering herds, watched by a few mounted shepherds, who, however habituated to the climate, labour under constant debility. Once in about six years each spot is brought under the plough, for which purpose numerous bodies of labourers are brought from Rome and Sienna; and sometimes a hundred ploughs are employed at once, in order to get over as soon as possible this dangerous operation. The farmers are few in number, not more than eighty in the whole Roman state. They reside constantly in the cities, have large capitals, and long leases; and some of them have live stock worth \$70,000.

The objects of agriculture in Italy are numerous and important. They include grain of all the most valuable descriptions. The wheat of Sicily, and still more of Sardinia, is reckoned the finest in Europe. Maize is a prevalent grain, chiefly for the food of the lower orders; and even rice is raised with success, and to a considerable extent, in the undated tracts of Lombardy. Silk is an universal staple, and of very fine quality. The export of it, in a raw or thrown state, since the decline of internal manufactures, has been the main basis of Italian commerce; it is sent to all the manufacturing countries, and shares with that of China and Bengal the market of Britain. The vine finds almost everywhere a favourable situation, and is cultivated; but the juice no longer preserves the fame of the ancient Falernian. It is in general too sweet, and too imperfectly fermented, to admit of exportation. Mr. Eustace endeavours to turn this circumstance to the honour of the national character, conceiving that the sober Italian, who drinks to quench thirst, has no motive to study the preparation of a delicate wine. The wines of Naples and Sicily are the best, and are sometimes seen at the tables of the great in foreign countries. The

Muscatel and other Sicilian wines are so extremely luscious, that only one or two glasses can be taken at a time. That island, however, has another kind, the Marsala, often sent to America and the West Indies, where it passes for Madeira. The olive grows in very great luxuriance in Naples, on the eastern slope of the Apennines; and the oil made from it is more highly esteemed than any other, at least for use in the finer woollen manufactures, whence it finds in England a steady demand, under the name of Gallipoli. Cattle are not particularly numerous; but many of them, from their qualities, are singularly valuable. Pre-eminent among these are the cows fed in the pastures of the Parmesan, and the country around Lodi, which produce the cheese considered superior in richness and flavour to any other in the world. The cattle are of the Hungarian breed, crossed with the Swiss; they are fed in the stall upon mown grass; and numbers of the small proprietors keep a dairy in common, that they may conduct the process on a large scale. The cattle on the Apennines are of a small gray kind, which Mrs. Graham praises as the most beautiful of their species; but they give little milk, and after being employed in labour are driven down to the maremma to be fattened for the city markets. The sheep abound in all the mountainous districts, and their wool is generally esteemed. That of the Venetian hills has, by crossing with the Merino, been rendered almost perfect; and that of the mountains of Rome and Naples, though not so fine, is valued for the equality of its texture. A great part is black, and woven undyed, for the clothing of the galley slaves and of the friars. Goats are reared in great numbers amid the Apennine cliffs; and their flesh and milk is the animal food chiefly used by the cultivators, with the addition, however, of fresh pork. Hogs are reared also in great perfection: they are not pent up, and fed on refuse, but wander at large through the woods, where they feed on nuts, mast, and roots; and become even somewhat intelligent and sprightly animals. The hams and bacon thus produced are considered at Rome as a great luxury. The fruits of Italy

are various and delicious, but none are of such value as the chestnuts, which in the upper regions constitute the food of a numerous body of mountaineers, who even dry and convert them into bread. The Apennine timber, consisting chiefly of oak and chestnut, is little used except for barrels. The saline plants of Sicily yield a barilla which rivals that of Spain. Among partial objects we may mention cotton in the southern provinces of Naples, which was produced in 1812, to the amount of sixty thousand bales, and the hemp of Bologna, which is of peculiar excellence. The Neapolitan manna, which exudes from a species of ash, is made a royal monopoly.

The manufactures in Italy, once remarkable for their elegance and variety, are now everywhere in a state of decay, and present only specimens on a small scale of what formerly existed. The great and opulent citizens, after the military revolutions which deprived them of influence and security, seem everywhere to have retired to the country, and invested their capital in land. Silk was formerly the grand staple, particularly in the form of velvets and damasks, richly adorned with gold and silver embroidery. This manufacture still exists in most of the great cities, though on a reduced scale. The Venetian states, in 1795, had only 2701 silk weavers, and 1163 gold and silver spinners. In 1802, the number of weavers in Turin had been reduced from 1400 to 500. The Lombard peasantry, however, still carry on the throwing of silk upon their farms, and it is exported in the shape of organzine for the use of the foreign manufacturer. The woollen manufactures of Florence were once immense, giving employment to thirty thousand persons; but they are now both few and coarse. Linen is considerable, and is often combined with cotton, which flourishes tolerably in the southern provinces of Naples, where the muslins of Tarento enjoy a good deal of reputation. Glass, in brilliant and curious forms, was once a celebrated and admired article; and there are still made at Venice, on the island of Murano, mirrors, glass beads, and tubes; at Florence, the flasks bearing the name

of that city. It seems doubtful if the art that produced the ancient earthenware of Etruria still exist. In the Florentine and Roman States are made, without the use of the wheel, numerous jars of red earthenware for holding oil; probably on a very antique model. The works of Doccia, near Florence, produce goods resembling those of Staffordshire. The only fine porcelain of Italy is that made at Naples, which may vie with any in Europe. The potteries of Teramo, in the Abruzzo, are also very extensive. Some curious works, inlaid agate tables, cameos, mosaics, &c., which elsewhere rank with the fine arts, are carried to such an extent, at Florence and Rome, as to be articles of trade. The paper of Italy had formerly a high reputation; and that of Belluno, and some parts of Tuscany, is still in repute. Extremely fine soap is made generally throughout Italy, but more particularly in Sicily. The Tuscan manufacture of straw hats affords valuable employment to country girls, and yields a produce of about \$750,000 a year.

Commerce of Italy. This, though not nearly so great as it might be were her energies developed, is, notwithstanding, of very considerable importance and value. The principal articles of export are, raw and thrown silk, silk manufactures, and olive oil; the articles next in importance are, corn, wine, cheese, raisins, almonds and oranges, brimstone, barilla, liquorice, bark, shumac, straw hats and straw platting, marble, hemp, rags, &c. The imports consist principally of cotton goods, yarn, and wool; all sorts of colonial produce; timber and iron from the north of Europe; dried and pickled cod, pilchards, &c. The commerce between England and Italy is very extensive. With the exception, indeed, of the United States, the East Indies, and Germany, the English exports to the Italian ports are greater than to those of any other foreign country. Cotton stuffs and cotton twist form by far the most important of all the articles sent to Italy; their real value in 1831 having amounted to no less than \$7,500,000.

The foreign trade of Italy is principally centered in the ports of Leghorn, Genoa, Trieste, Naples, and Palermo. The

first two are very important entrepôts; and are usually supplied with large stocks of the most important products of the Black Sea and the Levant.

Fishing is a pursuit for which the extensive coast of Italy, as well as its lakes and rivers, furnish ample scope, as they abound with fish of the most excellent quality. It is carried on with sufficient diligence for immediate consumption, but not so as either to furnish objects of trade, or to dispense with a large importation. Anchovies, however, are shipped in large quantities from Sicily for Leghorn; and it seems to be from some defect in the mode of cure that they do not equal the Gorgona anchovies. On the western coast of the same island is a considerable coral fishery. Amber, as a marine production, may also be mentioned as found more abundantly on the Sicilian than on any other coast. The tunny fishery of Sardinia is the most extensive in the Mediterranean.

The national character and the state of society in Italy are marked by prominent and striking features. The people, in some respects, are perhaps the most polished and refined of any in the world. While the German and many English nobles placed their enjoyment in hunting and the pleasures of the table; music, painting, poetry, and assemblies for conversation formed the delight of the Italians. The one spends much of his fortune in keeping a splendid table, stud, and pack of hounds; the other in building palaces, and adorning them with masterpieces of painting and sculpture. The French are, perhaps, still more gay and social; but their gayety is more of a noisy, empty, and animal kind; while the Italian derives his delight from objects of taste, and feels them with deeper sensibility. The nobles of this country were from the first civic; and all their habits have continued to be those of a city. What they call the chase has no resemblance to the bold adventurous field-sports of other countries, but consists merely in driving a number of animals into an enclosed place, and shooting them at their ease. No pains are bestowed on the improvement of their estates, which are

managed according to a mechanical routine, under the care of stewards, who often embezzle a great part of the produce. Being excluded also from all concern in public affairs, and from the administration of the state, they have become estranged from habits of manly and energetic exertion. They pass their lives in a listless and lounging apathy, making it their sole object to while away the hours in the most easy and agreeable manner. Their day is spent in a regular routine of attendance on mass, on their lady, on the theatre, the Casino, and the Corso. As the title and rank of a noble descends to all his posterity, the great increase in their number, by reducing them to a miserable and proud poverty, tends still more to degrade them in the public eye. Certain remains of mercantile habits are offensive to English observers. Ostentatious magnificence is combined with sordid economy; the most superb equipages and apartments are let out to foreigners, who are not even quite sure of honest dealing. Attached to many of the Florentine palaces is a little shop, where wine is retailed in the smallest quantities. But the deepest reproach of Italian manners seems to be the established system of *cicisbeism*, by which every married lady must have her lover or *cavaliere servente*, who imposes on himself the duty, wherever she is or goes, to dangle after her as her devoted slave. This connection is said to be not decidedly, or at least certainly, criminal, as our manners would lead us to suppose; but rather to form an *état* into which it is necessary to enter, on pain of expulsion from the fashionable circles, and which is continued according to a routine of almost mechanical observance; the gallant speaking not of the mistress whom he loves, but of her whom he serves. It is obvious, however, that it must, at the very least, imply the sacrifice of all that is happy or respectable in domestic life, attended as it is with an anathema against the married pair, if they show the slightest symptoms of respect or regard for each other. Still charity and humanity appear conspicuous virtues in these nobles. The *misericordia*, an institution diffused throughout Tuscany, consists in Flo-

rence of four hundred persons, many of high rank, who devote themselves to personal attendance on the sick, superintending the hospitals, distributing food to the patients, and watching the manner in which they are treated. These duties, indeed, they perform under the disguise of long black vestments, which cover and conceal the face. There is another society for searching out and relieving the poor who have seen better days, and are ashamed to beg: but in Mr. Forsyth's time their zeal had so far relaxed, that they bestowed alms only upon application; and Mr. Williams considers their original object as wholly lost sight of. The charitable institutions of Naples, Rome, Milan, and Genoa, appear also to be most extensive; and the bounty bestowed, especially at the convents, is considered as one of the chief causes of the idleness and mendicity which prevails in the great cities. Temperance must be admitted as another virtue of the Italians. Notwithstanding the abundance and cheapness of wine, intoxication is scarcely known, even among the lowest ranks. English visitors complain that, amid the profusion of other forms of courtesy, little food or drink is vouchsafed to them, even by the most opulent. A dinner is an event of the rarest occurrence; and the amusements of the evening are only those of intellect or society, without any refreshment whatever. The accompaniment of real politeness and civility, however, shows that this proceeds not from want of hospitable feelings, but of that importance which is attached to good cheer by other nations.

The lower ranks form the mass of the Italian population, with scarcely any intervening class between them and the nobles. They share, in some degree, the refined tastes and manners of the higher ranks. The common shopkeepers of Florence and Rome possess a taste in the fine arts, and sometimes even in poetry, which is unknown in the most polished circles beyond the Alps. They delight also in conversation, which they support with peculiar animation, and with gesticulations the most varied and expressive of any European people. The peasantry are, on the whole, a poor, quiet,

contented, orderly race; spending, not very wisely, all their little savings in finery for their wives and daughters. But the populace of the great towns display a character peculiarly idle, tumultuary, and unlicensed. They seem to combine the characters of citizens, beggars, and bandits. The lazzaroni of Naples, in particular, form a numerous body, who exist almost wholly out of the pale of regular society. The climate enables them to live without houses, almost without clothes, and with only a daily handful of macaroni. Having obtained this by theft, by begging, or some little occasional work, they abandon themselves to luxurious indolence, or the indulgence of wayward humours. They are a set of wild, merry rogues, with all the rude energy of savages, full of humour, address, ready argument, and quick repartee. In political convulsions they have made very signal displays of energy, usually in defence of the reigning family, to whom they are strongly attached. The practice of assassination, whether for hire or on the impulse of passion, which was long peculiarly Italian, is said to have been considerably reduced by the French. They deprived the sanctuaries of their right to protect the assassin; and that right has not since been restored to them. Another too numerous class are the bandits, who, established in the recesses of the Apennines, form a sort of separate people, and carry on their vocation on a great and regular scale. The strength of their line of mountain positions, which runs close and parallel to that of the high road through Italy, affords them opportunities of which they know well how to profit. The road from Rome to Naples is their favourite haunt, and even when guarded by piquets of soldiers at the distance of every mile, it cannot always be travelled with safety. They carry on their trade in a systematic manner, and not without some adherence to the principles of honour when it has once been pledged. Their grand aim is to carry off some person of distinction, and then to exact a ransom proportioned to his means and dignity. The French and \* even the German troops stationed in Naples rooted out some of these dens of banditti; but, under the supine indolence of



the Neapolitan government, they are again recruiting their strength.

The mansions of Italy are celebrated for the splendour and art displayed both in their form and interior decoration. Those built by the nobility in Rome, Florence, Genoa, and Venice, are usually dignified with the name of palaces; and their classic exterior, spacious apartments, and the works of painting and sculpture with which they are adorned, render them often more interesting to the spectator than those of the greatest monarchs beyond the Alps. They are maintained, however, rather for show than use; all the finest apartments being employed as galleries of exhibition, while those in which the family reside are of small dimension, in the upper stories, and destitute of many of the comforts which, to an English gentleman, appear indispensable: in short, to him they appear little better than garrets. The taste for architectural beauty descends even to the lower ranks. The houses of the little farmers in Tuscany and Lombardy are adorned with porticos and colonnades, and often display a classic aspect.

The dress of the Italians does not seem to have any features peculiar or strictly national. Among the upper ranks, French fashions prevail; many of those in the country, and especially of the hilly districts, display a picturesque variety, which being not unaccompanied with taste, produces often a very pleasing effect.

In the food of the Italians, who are generally very temperate, we know not any very characteristic article, except macaroni. In the rest of Europe it has not been generally adopted as an article of diet, but it is presented as a delicacy at the tables of the opulent.

Italy is divided into five great portions:—1. The Ecclesiastical States; 2. Tuscany; 3. The Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, or Austrian Italy, of which we have already spoken; 4. The States of the King of Sardinia; 5. Naples and Sicily.

The Ecclesiastical States have lost that paramount importance which they once possessed, and are the least flourishing

and powerful of all the divisions of Italy. Nevertheless, as they contain Rome, with all its stupendous monuments, and were the central theatre of all the ancient grandeur of Italy, they still excite an interest superior to that of any other of these celebrated regions. They form a central band, extending entirely across the country, and separating the north from the south of Italy. Since the acquisition of Ferrara, their eastern portion shoots a large branch northward as far as the Po. They are thus in contact on one side with Tuscany and Lombardy, on the other with Naples. The Apennines pass entirely through them, producing on their borders some of the most beautiful scenery in Europe, the Lake of Perugia, the Falls of Terni, the magic scenes of Tivoli and Frascati. These mountains divide the states into two unequal plains, of which the eastern is the most extensive, and contains the city of Rome; but it is in a great measure waste and pestilential. The western, comprising the Bolognese and the March of Ancona, is more fertile and better cultivated, but much narrower, being closely hemmed in by the Apennines and the Adriatic. There is very little manufacturing industry of any description. The annats, contributions, and indulgences, which anciently maintained the pontifical sovereignty in such pomp, have disappeared with the decaying faith of the catholic world.

The population of the Ecclesiastical States is about 2,970,000 inhabitants, divided into four classes, the clergy, nobility, burghers, and farmers. The nobility comprises princes and dukes belonging to collateral lines of the popes, the senatorial aristocracy and the lower degrees of the nobility.

The form of government is an elective monarchy. The pope, whose power is both spiritual and temporal, is elected out of the college of the cardinals, whose number is fixed at seventy. Pius IX., the reigning pope, known before his election as Jos. Maria, Count Mastia Ferreti, Archbishop of Imola, was chosen on the 16th of June, 1846. The Roman Catholic is, of course, the established church, which, in this

country, is governed by six archbishops and seventy-two bishops. In 1847, there were, besides, 53,000 secular and regular clergymen. The religious orders are Mistins, Barnabites, Benedictines, Camaldulenses, Capuchins, Carmelites, Cistercians, Cælestians, Cordelians, Dominicans, Jesuits, Minims, Philipppines, Recollections, Somascians, Trinitarians, Theatins, etc. All creeds are said to be tolerated; but this is denied. There are about eight thousand Jews in Rome and about five thousand of them in Ancona.\* Although the means of education are very limited in extent, and the mass of the people of the States of the Church are grossly ignorant, there are seven universities—at Rome, Bologna, Ferrara, Perugia, Macerata, Ferno, and Camerino.

The States of the Church are divided into twenty-one sections, thirteen of which are called delegations. Bologna, Ferrara, Ravenna, Urbino, Pesaro, Forli, and Velletri are called legations, while the province of Rome bears the name of Comarca, and that of Loretto, the appellation of *Commisariat*.

The *Comarca di Roma* contains the great capital, the former metropolis of the world—Rome. The city is situated on the Tiber, about eighteen miles from its mouth. In 1847, Rome had a population of 180,000 inhabitants. Since the revolution, the number has considerably decreased.

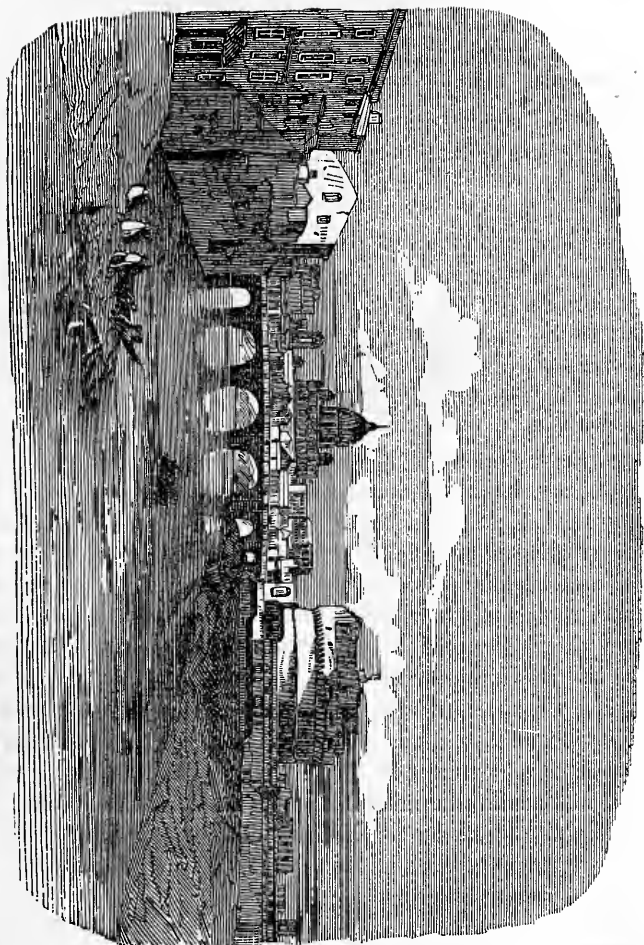
The outlines of ancient Rome, and its relation to the modern city, may be distinctly traced. Forsyth distinguishes three cities called Rome; that which the Gauls destroyed, that which Nero burned, and that which Nero rebuilt. The walls begun by Servius Tullius, and completed by Aurelian, present specimens of all the successive forms of construction which prevailed in Rome. The modern city is still enclosed by them; but it covers only a portion of the vast site occupied by the mistress of the world. It extends chiefly over the Campus Martius and along the Tiber, forming a curve round the base of the capitol. The spectator must turn to

\* Ungewitter.

the other side of that hill before he is met by the genius of ancient Rome. There, scattered in vast and shapeless masses over the seven hills, appear its ruins. They stand in lonely majesty, with groves of funereal cypress waving over them. Its palaces, its tombs, its baths, its temples with their pointed obelisks, stand majestic but solitary monuments amid the extensive waste of time and desolation. The Palatine, which originally contained the whole city, which remained always its chief and most populous quarter, and is represented by Cicero as crowded with the senate, the orders, and with all Italy, presents a mere landscape with two solitary villas and a convent. The temples, palaces, and porticos lie in such shapeless heaps, that the utmost learning of the modern architect and antiquary have been wasted in fruitless attempts to discover their plan and their site. Of the imperial palace only some vaulted subterraneous chambers of one wing remain. In general, it may be observed, that, with the exception of a few grand objects, the details of ancient Rome have escaped the most anxious researches of the learned. We cannot tell the site of many of the objects even most famous in antiquity. We cannot say, "Here stood the house of Mæcenas, of Cicero, of Horace." However, the Capitol, the Forum, the hills, are stamped with those characters of antiquity that cannot be mistaken : "a walk from the Capitol to the Coliseum comprises the history of ages." The leading features in Rome are the ancient edifices ; the modern edifices ; the works of painting ; and the works of sculpture.

Of the ancient edifices, the majestic Parthenon and the great Coliseum are the chief wonders. The Baths, erected and adorned by the emperors, attract much attention by their extent and beauty, while the columns of Trajan and Antoninus afford material for modern artists.

Of the modern edifices of Rome, those devoted to ecclesiastical purposes are by far the most conspicuous ; for, though Venice and Genoa may compete in the splendour of palaces, in churches no other city can be compared with this metropolis of the catholic world. They present also specimens of



Rome.



Roman peasants.

successive styles of architecture ; many of them having been begun in the first centuries, and enlarged and embellished by a long line of pontiffs, till they have become perfect treasures of wealth and art. Some of the series were not in the very purest taste ; but as, even in the dark ages, they were often modelled after ancient structures which were always present to inspire ideas of grandeur, none of them exhibit marks of total degeneracy and deformity. Foremost among the churches of Rome, and of the world, stands the majestic front and sublime dome of St. Peter's. On its site has always been the principal church of Rome, erected by Constantine, and rendered sacred by containing the ashes of the apostle from whom the bishops of Rome claimed their descent and authority. After being embellished during successive ages, it began to threaten its fall, when Nicholas V. and Julius II. conceived the project of erecting in its stead a new and nobler structure. It was carried on for a hundred years, by eighteen pontiffs, all devoting to it a large portion of their treasure, and employing upon it the talents of Bramante, Michael

Angelo, Bernini, and other artists, the greatest of that most brilliant age. It is surprising with what unity the successive artists worked over each other's plans. The first, indeed, is liable to criticism; but the colonnade and the dome are perfectly unrivalled, and render it the most magnificent structure that ever was reared by mortal hands. The Basilica of St. Paul is still more ancient, having been built by Theodosius, and presents great vestiges of ancient magnificence, consisting in painted walls, and long ranges of marble and porphyry columns. Though several times repaired, it has still, however, a forlorn, unfinished, and almost ruinous appearance; presenting the aspect of a desolate and melancholy monument. The church of St. John Lateran claims a still higher dignity; being, in preference to St. Peter's, the regular cathedral church of Rome; on which ground it assumes the lofty title of mother and head of the churches of the city and the world. It was in fact adorned with three hundred antique pillars, which would, it is supposed, have formed the finest pillared scenery in existence; but, unhappily, it came into the hands of a modern architect who seems to have been actuated by an antipathy to pillars, and who walled up a great proportion of them. The San Maria Maggiore is another church, of which Eustace doubts if any architectural exhibition surpasses or even equals it. The two magnificent colonnades, and the canopy which form its interior, constitute its prominent beauties. Besides these four principal churches, Rome contains numerous others, distinguished by their antiquity and embellishments, especially of painting and sculpture. The other leading ornament of modern Rome consists in its palaces. A fondness, and almost a rage, for erecting magnificent structures generally possesses the Italian nobles, and displays itself peculiarly in their town residences, which are hence usually dignified with the appellation of palace. So vast are those of Rome, that, with their appendages, they cover more ground than the modern habitations. They do not in general display the same lofty style of architecture as the churches or temples. Their place in the street

does not allow room for the open gallery and spacious colonnade; and the external ornaments, even of the most splendid, consist chiefly in pilasters. Their chief attraction is in the spacious courts and porticos within, the vast halls and lofty apartments, with the pillars, the marbles, the statues, and the paintings that furnish and adorn them in such profusion. Indeed, they are maintained, in a great measure, as galleries of painting and sculpture. These superb mansions are now in a state of decay.

The works of painting and sculpture with which Rome is adorned excel those of any other city in the world. The Roman school surpasses any in modern times in force and expression, the qualities which constitute the highest excellence of art; but, besides the works of Raphael, its leader, and of his disciples, the munificence of the pontiffs enabled them to attract the great masters from other cities of Italy. Michael Angelo, though a Florentine, executed scarcely any of his works at Florence; his Last Judgment, his Creation, his Prophets, are all painted on the walls of the Vatican. Of the school of Bologna, the Farnese Gallery, by Annibal Caracci, the St. Jerome of Domenichino, the Aurora and Magdaline of Guido, rank as the best works of those respective artists. The series of Raphael's frescoes in the Vatican is probably the grandest in the world; for his Cartoons, preserved at Hampton Court, England, though equal in design, are comparatively unfinished. The choicest works of ancient sculpture having been employed to adorn the Roman temples and palaces, were dug up from beneath them to adorn the modern city; these, however, being all movable, suffered still more than the paintings by the French system of spoliation, and all those which were of any value were carried away, that the Louvre might be made the centre of art. Even in the course of the restoration, several have been withdrawn. The Borghese collection, with its Hermaphrodite and Gladiator, remain at Paris; the Venus has been taken to Florence, and the Hercules to Naples. Rome, however, retains the Laocoon, the Gladiator, and a



profusion of other works, still much superior to those found in any other city.

Modern Rome, taken altogether, and independent of the many single majestic objects, cannot be called a fine city. The streets are narrower than those of London, though wider than those of Paris, and are covered with a reticular pavement, well suited for carriages, but annoying to the foot passenger. The houses are built of stone, plastered with a species of stucco, which is extremely durable, yet can never convey to our minds the same ideas of richness and solidity. But the deadliest charge brought against Rome is its excessive dirt, in which it may vie with Lisbon itself. Filth is accumulated even in presence of the most majestic piles, to such an extent as renders them unapproachable to a nation so punctilious in this particular as our own. The whole pavement around the Pantheon is revolting to every sense, sprinkled with blood and filth, entrails of pigs, or piles of stale fish. Few vestiges remain of the one hundred and forty-four cloacæ, which were so salutary to the ancient city. The Roman Forum, which especially recalls such high associations, and is adorned with the most majestic ruins, being now converted into a cow-market, makes a profuse display of every description of filth. The population, however, has increased, in consequence of the resort of strangers, and is supposed to be nearly 150,000.

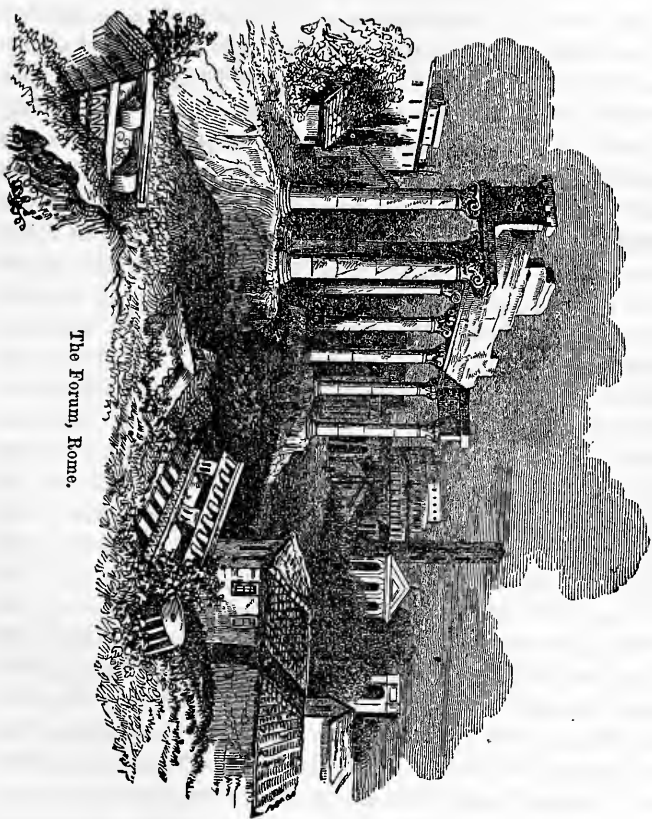
The villas in the vicinity of Rome form an additional ornament to the city, especially the extensive gardens of Lucullus, of Mæcenas, of Sallust, were peculiarly spacious and magnificent; and those of the modern palaces, though on a scale less vast, partake of the same character. Several command extensive views over Rome, anciently adorned with those stupendous edifices which were the wonder of the world, but now, perhaps, more interesting when the same edifices are lying on the ground, and overgrown with cypress. No spot commands so fine a view over these awful and immortal remains as the Farnese gardens on the Palatine Mount. Of these villas, the Villa of Borghese is the finest and most ornamented, and its walks, which, however, are too much in

the old formal style, are open for the recreation of the public. The Villa Ludovisi contains the *Aurora* of Guercino; and the Villa Aldobrandini has the representation of a Marriage, which is viewed as the finest relic of ancient painting.

The more distant environs of Rome consist, in the first instance, of that wide campagna, or plain, which its pestilential air has devoted to almost total desolation. In approaching, however, to the branches of the Apennine, a singular variety of picturesque scenery begins to open. Gentle hills, with little lakes embosomed in them, and swelling into bold and lofty mountains, crowned with extensive forests; cascades dashing down their steeps, and smiling plains intervening;—these, with brilliant skies and balmy airs, are common to this region with many others; but it derives peculiar interest from the edifices, noble in ruin, which adorn the brow of almost every hill, and from the recollection of the many illustrious ancients, who in these shades wooed the Muses, and sought recreation from the toils of war and of empire.

Tivoli, a town on the Tevere, with a beautiful cataract, and numerous remains of antiquity, has six thousand inhabitants. The other towns of the province are Albano, with five thousand six hundred inhabitants; Castel Gaudolfo; Frascati, with four thousand inhabitants; Palestrina; Subiaco, with six thousand inhabitants, and Fiumicino.

The delegation of Velletri contains a city of the same name, with twelve thousand inhabitants; Terracina, amid the Pontine marshes, with eight thousand inhabitants, and Cori and Norma, with respectively four thousand and two thousand inhabitants. The delegation of Frosinone contains a city of the same name, situated on the Coza, with seven thousand five hundred inhabitants, and Ponte Corvo, with six thousand inhabitants. The delegation of Rieti, a city of the same name with twelve thousand six hundred inhabitants, and Magliano, with five thousand five hundred inhabitants. The delegation of Spoleto contains Spoleto, Narni, and Terni, towns with from five thousand to eight thousand inhabitants each. The delegation of Civita Vecchia, contains Civita Vecchia, a



The Forum, Rome.

fortified seaport, which has ten thousand inhabitants, and several small towns. The delegation of Viterbo contains Viterbo, at the foot of Cimino, with fifteen thousand inhabitants, Montefiascone, on Lake Bolsena, with four thousand five hundred inhabitants, and Aquapendente, Ronciglione, and Bolsena. The delegation of Orvieto contains a town of the same name, with eight thousand inhabitants, and Civita Castellana. The delegation of Perugia contains the city of Perugia, which has many remarkable churches and thirty-two thousand inhabitants, Assisi, Foligno, with sixteen thousand inhabitants, Spello, Citta di Castello, Noviera, and Citta della Pieve. The delegation of Ascoli on the coast of the Adriatic contains the important town of Ascoli, Montalte, and Ripatransone. The delegation of Fermo contains a city of the same name having twenty thousand inhabitants, and a small seaport called Porto di Fermo. The delegation of Camerino contains a considerable town of the same name. The delegation of Macerata contains the important city of Macerata, which has eighteen thousand inhabitants, and Fabriano and Tolentino. The commissariato of Loretto contains the town of Loretto, renowned for its shrine, and having eight thousand inhabitants. The delegation of Ancona contains the fortified seaport of Ancona, which has considerable trade and thirty-two thousand inhabitants, and the towns of Iesi and Osimo. The legation of Urbino e Pesaro contains Urbino at the foot of the Apennines, having fourteen thousand inhabitants, Sinigaglia, a fortified port on the Adriatic, with eleven thousand inhabitants, Fano with seventeen thousand inhabitants, Pesaro, with fifteen thousand inhabitants, Fossombrone, and Gubbio. The legation of Forli contains the three large towns of Forli, Cesena, and Rimini. The legation of Ravenna contains Ravenna, in a marshy country near the Adriatic, with twenty-six thousand inhabitants, and many antiquities, Faenza, with twenty thousand inhabitants, and Imola, and Cervia. The legation of Bologna contains the important city of Bologna, situated in a romantic country, with magnificent edifices, famous literary institutions, and

seventy-five thousand inhabitants, and the towns of Cento and Medicina. The legation of Ferrara contains Ferrara, a city on a branch of the Po, in a marshy country, with twenty-eight thousand inhabitants, Commacchio, with one thousand inhabitants, and the town of Ponte di Lago Scuro. The delegation of Benevento contains a city of the same name, with a remarkable cathedral and fifteen thousand inhabitants.

### San Marino.

THE republic of San Marino, which is the smallest of the European states, is situated upon a mountain between Ancona and Florence, and is entirely surrounded by the papal territories. It was founded by St. Marinus in 469, and has existed independently for thirteen centuries. The constitution is mixed of aristocracy and democracy. The executive is vested in two Capitano reggenti, who are elected for the period of six months. The regular military consists of only twenty-four privates and seven officers; but the militia comprises eight hundred and fifty men. Besides the capital, San Marino, which has six thousand inhabitants, the republic has four villages, Serravalle, Faetano, Acquavira, and Feglio. The people are industrious, cheerful, contented, and prosperous.

### The Kingdom of the Two Sicilies.

THE kingdom of Naples, or, as it is called, of the Two Sicilies, is the most considerable in Italy for extent and population; in which respects it approaches to the rank of the great monarchies; but the supine and indolent character of its government almost prevents it from having any weight in the political system. Neapolsi, though a place of some consequence under the Romans, was not until the Middle Ages a kingdom, in which the republican spirit, so active in the

north of Italy, was early subdued. Naples was successively governed by branches of the house of Austria, and of the Spanish Bourbons, which last is now on the throne. On the approach of the French revolutionary army in 1795, Naples yielded without any resistance, except that spontaneously made by the despised lazzaroni. During the greater part of the revolutionary war, the king was supported in Sicily by a British fleet and army, and on the triumph of the allied cause, was reinstated in all his territories. With the exception of a short and abortive attempt to establish a constitutional system, the government has always been absolute; yet the people suffer less from the oppression of the crown, than from the exorbitant privileges of the nobles. The accession of Sicily, in exchange for Sardinia, effected in 1720 through Austrian influence, rendered the kingdom much more valuable and compact. These two members are, however, so very distinct, that it will be necessary to consider them separately.

Naples, the southern extremity of Italy, after forming for some space a continuation of the long narrow peninsula which comprises most part of that country, branches finally into the two smaller peninsulas of Otranto and Calabria. The Apennines fill its interior, shooting out branches to its bounding promontories; they in many places spread wider, and assume still more rugged and awful forms than in the northern part of their line; and they harbour the most formidable troops of banditti which infest Italy. They leave, however, along the coast, wide plains and extended valleys, blessed with the most genial climate, and the richest soil of any country in Europe, or, perhaps, in the world. The culture, also, notwithstanding various administrative defects, is so diligent as to support a very numerous and very dense population.

The area of Naples is 31,556 square miles, and its population numbers 6,323,000 inhabitants. Naples is divided into fifteen provinces, viz:—Naples, Terra di Lavoro, proper, Principato Citeriore, Principato Ulteriore, Abruzzo Ulteriore I., Abruzzo Ulteriore II., Abruzzo Citeriore, Molise, Capitanata,

Terra di Barri, Terra d'Otranto, Bailicata, Calabria Citeriore, Calabria Ulteriore I., and Calabria Ulteriore II.

The section of Terra di Lavoro, which comprises several provinces. Naples the largest city in Italy. In 1845, this city had 400,813 inhabitants, of which number, 7,420 were priests, monks, and nuns, and about 80,000 *lazzaroni*.

Naples fully maintains its place among the most beautiful European capitals: this is not owing to its architecture; for though the edifices are lofty and solid, the streets tolerably wide, particularly the Strada de Toledo, which is a mile in length, yet all the particular buildings are characterized by that bad taste which has always ruled at Naples, and to compensate for which, marbles, gilding, and decoration, have been vainly lavished on its churches and palaces. Taken collectively, however, Naples presents to the sea an immense line of lofty edifices, producing a general pomp of effect, and forming a commanding feature in the matchless landscape. Its bay, occupying a wide circuit of sixteen miles, everywhere bounded with vineyards, hills, woods, convents, villages; the golden shores of Baia, the beautifully variegated islands of Ischia and Procida, with the verdant sides and lofty cone of Vesuvius: all these, viewed under a brighter sun than ever shines in the regions beyond the Alps, have been considered as composing the most splendid picture which nature presents to the human eye. The interior of Naples exhibits a most singular living scene; every trade and every amusement being carried on in the open air. "The crowd of London," says Forsyth, "is a double line in quick motion; it is the crowd of business. The crowd of Naples consists in a general tide rolling up and down, and in the middle of this tide an hundred eddies of men. You are stopped by a carpenter's bench, you are lost among shoemaker's tools, you dash among the pots of a *maccaroni* stall. Every bargain sounds like a battle; the popular exhibitions are full of grotesque; they consist of Punch held as the representative of the nation; of preaching; selling *Agnus Deis*; dancing to the guitar; or listening to old tales." The higher classes

are generally accused of licentiousness, though Eustace thinks the charge somewhat exaggerated. A very literary spirit prevails; the Neapolitans boast that as many books are published at Naples as at Paris; and that, if the world would judge impartially, they would find the one as good as the other: but this opinion does not prevail in other countries. Most ample opportunities of study are certainly afforded, by four libraries open to the public; one of which, compounded of the Farnese and other libraries transported from Rome, comprises many curious and valuable works. With these were conveyed some of the finest specimens of ancient sculpture, the Torso, the Hercules, the Urania; and some fine specimens have been appended from the greatest Italian schools; but Naples could boast no great painters of its own, and has, therefore, no frescos of any importance. One bright redeeming quality in the Neapolitans is charity: their hospitals are numerous, richly endowed, and supported by ample benefactions; and persons of the first rank, assuming the dress of religious fraternities, not only superintend these establishments, but watch the sick-bed of the patient. The Neapolitans set an example, which seems worthy of imitation, in having a rural hospital for recovering the health of invalids. They have also conservatorii or schools, where the children of the lower ranks are initiated in trades, by which they may gain their subsistence. A great part of these is devoted to the teaching of music; and is unfortunately combined with that horrid mode of attaining excellence in it which is peculiar to Italy, and which, though prohibited by the government, continues still to be practised. Naples may be considered as the musical capital of Italy: the greatest composers have been its citizens; and its opera is unrivalled.

“In London and Paris,” says Dr. Moore, “the people who fill the streets are mere passengers, hurrying from place to place on business; and when they choose to converse, or to amuse themselves, they resort to public walks or gardens; at Naples, the citizens have fewer avocations of business to excite their activity; they have no public walks to which they can resort;



and are, therefore, more frequently seen sauntering and conversing in the streets, where a great proportion of the poorest sort, for want of habitations, are obliged to spend the night as well as the day."

The usual noise heard in the houses of London from the streets, is that of carriages; but at Naples, where they talk with uncommon vivacity, and where whole streets are full of talkers, in continual employment, the noise of the carriages is completely drowned in the aggregated clack of human voices. In the midst of all this idleness, fewer riots or outrages of any kind happen than might be expected where such multitudes of poor unemployed people meet together every day. This partly proceeds from the national character of the Italians, and partly from the common people being universally sober, and never inflamed with spirituous liquors. Iced water and lemonade are among the luxuries of the lowest people; the half-starved lazarone is often tempted to spend the small pittance destined for the maintenance of his family on this bewitching beverage, as the most dissolute in London spend their wages in gin; so that the same extravagance which cools the lower classes of one city, tends to inflame those of the other to acts of excess and brutality.

There is no city, with the same number of inhabitants, in which so few contribute to the wealth of the community by productive labour, as Naples; but the number of priests, monks, fidlers, lawyers, nobility, footmen, and lazzaroni surpasses all reasonable proportion. If these poor fellows are idle, it is not their own fault; they are continually running about the streets, like the barbers and other tradesmen of China, offering their service and begging for employment.

The Neapolitan nobility are extremely fond of splendour and show, which appear in the brilliancy of their equipages, the number of their attendants, the richness of their dress, and the grandeur of their titles. It is the mode in Naples to have two running footmen gaily dressed before the carriage, and three or four servants in rich liveries behind; these attendants are generally the handsomest men that can be pro-

cured. The carriages and harness for the horses correspond with the servants in the same style of elegance.

The richest and most commodious convents in Europe, for both sexes, are in this city; the most beautiful and fertile hills of the environs are covered with them; a small part of their revenue is spent in feeding the poor, the monks distributing bread and soup to a certain number every day before the doors of the convents. Some of the friars follow the practice of physic and surgery; and to each convent there is an apothecary's shop, from which medicines are delivered to the poor gratis.

The *lazzaroni* form a considerable part of the inhabitants of Naples; and have, on some occasions, had the government of the city, for a short time, in their own hands. The greater part of them have no dwelling-houses, but sleep every night under porticos, piazzas, or any kind of shelter they can find. Those of them who have wives and children live in the suburbs of the city, in huts, or caverns, or chambers dug out of the mountains. Some gain a livelihood by fishing, others by carrying burdens to and from the shipping: many walk about the streets ready to run errands, or to perform any labour in their power, for a very small recompense.

This class of people are treated with the greatest tyranny by the nobility, and even by their livery servants; instead of calling to them to make way when the noise in the streets prevents the people from hearing the approach of the carriages, a stroke across the shoulders with the cane of the running footman is the usual warning they receive. Nothing animates the people to insurrection but some universal cause, as a scarcity of bread; every other grievance they endure as if it were their charter. "When we consider," says an ingenious traveller, "eighty thousand human creatures, without beds or habitations, wandering almost naked in search of food through the streets of a well-built city; when we think of the opportunities they have of being together, of comparing their own destitute condition with the affluence of others, one cannot help being astonished at their patience."

The lazzaroni were skilfully employed by the present wicked king of Naples during the revolution of 1848, which he suppressed by their aid. Had they sided with the liberals, as their permanent interests dictated, the victory would have been a glorious one. Who can justify the act of Ferdinand in stimulating the lazzaroni to the sack of the houses of the liberal party, and the massacre of many of its members? The assassination of such a ruler would be a national blessing, and his execution, as a murderer, but a measure of common justice.

The environs of Naples are rendered highly interesting by the numerous remains of antiquity, among which are those of the cities of Herculaneum and Pompeii. The other chief towns of this section are Portici, Torre del Annunziata, Castelmare, Caserta, Nocera, Gaeta, Capua, San Germano, Nola, Piedimonte, Arpino, Santa Maria Maggiore, Acerra, Aversa, Maddaloni, Salerno, Campagno, Sarno, Cava, Avelino, Ariano, and Solofra. Some of these have a population of over 16,000, and carry on a considerable trade.

The section of the Abruzzo, comprising the most northerly portion of the continental part of the kingdom, contains Lanciano, Aquila, Teramo, Pescara, Civita Ducale, and Sulmona, all towns of considerable trade, and having over 10,000 inhabitants each.

The section of Apulia comprises the eastern portion of the continental part of the kingdom, contains Lecce, which has 21,000 inhabitants, Otranto, Taranto, which has 19,000 inhabitants, and extensive salt-works; Gallipoli, which has 15,000 inhabitants; Monopoli, which has 16,000 inhabitants; Barletta, which has extensive salt-works, and 22,000 inhabitants; Foggia, a highly ornamental city, with 26,000 inhabitants; San Severo, with 18,000 inhabitants, and a number of small, but thriving and busy towns.

The section of Calabria, comprising the western half of the Neapolitan continent, contains Reggio, situated in an exceedingly fertile country, and having an active trade, and 20,000 inhabitants; Catanzaro, with an important trade in silk and

olive oil, and 13,000 inhabitants; Nicastro and Potenza, which have each 10,000 inhabitants; Cosenza, which has 8000 inhabitants, as well as a considerable number of smaller towns. In the greater portions of the country comprised in these sections, agriculture is bountifully rewarded by a generous soil; but the land-tillers enjoy a very small portion of the fruits of their toil. The contest between a rich country and a miserable government, is everywhere perceptible.

The large and fertile island of Sicily has an area of 10,554 square miles, and about 2,050,000 inhabitants. Immediately beyond the narrow strait which separates it from the continent, the surface begins to rise into the lofty heights of Etna, a mountain higher than any of the Apennines, and which strikes admiration and terror by the streams of volcanic fire which issue from it. Its branches overspread nearly the whole island, but on the northern and southern coasts they descend into gentle and cultivated hills. From these elevated regions descend numerous and rapid streams, which profusely water every part of the territory. Sicily possesses thus all the beauties and benefits of a warm climate, without even the partial aridity to which it is exposed. Its soil yields abundantly all the products of the finest temperate and even tropical climates. Its most uncultivated spots are covered with groves of fruit trees, and decked with beautiful flowers, such as elsewhere are carefully reared in gardens.

Sicily at present, notwithstanding its fertility and varied natural advantages, has sunk into a state of extreme poverty and degradation. The supineness and tyranny of the government, and the exorbitant privileges of the grandees, have reduced the body of the people to a state of the utmost penury. The varied and often rugged surface of the country, intersected by numerous torrents, would require considerable efforts to form communication by roads; but this has been entirely neglected, and a line of twenty miles into the interior from Palermo is the only route practicable for carriages. In Agrigento, once the mart of all the commodities of the Mediterranean, M. Kephallides could not procure a pair of gloves; and

in Modica, a town of 11,000 people, a bit of soap was not to be obtained. Sicily, however, produces some wines that are esteemed; her raw silk is also fine, and with olive oil, fruits, and salt, affords some materials for exportation. In return, she receives manufactured goods in great variety, though small quantity, their consumption being much limited by the poverty which pervades the great body of the people.

Sicily is divided into the following intendancies, named after their chief towns: Palermo, with a population of 180,000; Trapani, 26,000; Marsala, 24,000; Girgenti, 18,000; Caltanissetta, 17,000; Syracuse, 18,000; Catania, 60,000; Messina 85,000.

Palermo, though it can boast neither monuments of antiquity nor classic modern edifices, such as adorn the cities of Italy, is yet a spacious and handsome city. It is traversed by broad streets crossing each other, and producing at their point of junction a striking effect. Many of the quarters, however, are ugly and dirty. The cathedral is a large ancient edifice, with some striking features; but the different styles of architecture are injudiciously blended. The palace of the viceroy is a splendid building, but not in good taste; its most interesting object is the ancient chapel of King Roger. Some of the country seats in the vicinity command delightful views. The favourite resort of the Palermitans is a public garden called the Flora, which is not well arranged, but is rich in flowers and fruit.

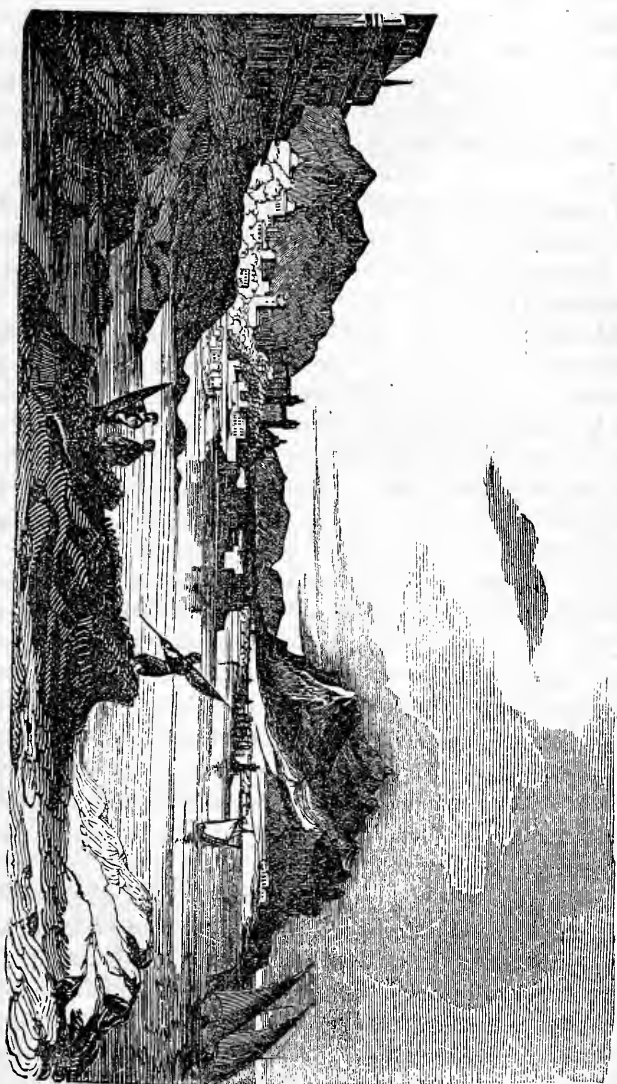
Messina, though smaller, is almost equal in importance, since from it is carried on almost the whole commerce of Sicily. Its vines, silk, fruits, and other articles produced for exportation, are mostly shipped at Messina. It has also a considerable silk manufactory. The city is beautifully situated on a bay, formed by the opposite coasts of Sicily and Calabria, and enclosed by lofty hills on each side. A century ago, Messina was much greater, and more flourishing; but it has passed since through calamities almost unparalleled. In 1743, the plague swept off half its population; and in 1783, the great earthquake, which was desolating Calabria, crossed

the strait, and in a few minutes converted Messina into a heap of ruins. Most of the inhabitants effected their escape; but the finest streets were overthrown; precious commodities, libraries, works of art, were destroyed in vast numbers. From this fatal blow Messina has only imperfectly recovered.

Southward from Messina, the coast begins to display the remains of great ancient cities, which were built chiefly on the eastern and southern coasts. Taormina, the ancient Tauromenum, now a small place, contains, among other ruins, a theatre, considered one of the most perfect monuments of antiquity, and in a most commanding site, between the mountains and the sea. Catania, at the foot of Etna, is the finest city in the island. It is filled with Greek, Saracenic, and modern structures, all handsome. Yet it has passed through fearful vicissitudes. Overwhelmed by the volcano of 1669, almost destroyed by the earthquake of 1693, it has risen from these disasters with undiminished beauty.

Proceeding southward along the coast of the Val de Norte, we reach Siragusa, (Syracuse.) This ancient capital, so celebrated for power, learning, and splendour, presents now a striking example of the changeful character of human things. Of its vast ruins only some imperfect fragments can with difficulty be traced, scattered amid vineyards, orchards, and cornfields. The present town, which contains nothing remarkable, occupies only a very small portion of the ancient site. Near the south-eastern cape of Passaro are Nota and Modica, two large towns, one well built, the other very indifferently.

On the southern coast, Girgenti, now a large, poor village, presents monuments worthy of the ancient Agrigentum, when it was the greatest city of Sicily, and fit to contend with Carthage. The temple of Jupiter Olympus, an immense structure, 368 feet long, by 188 broad, is almost quite in ruins. It has been called the Temple of Giants, from huge forms of this description that are lying either entire or in fragments. The Temple of Concord, with its thirty-four columns, is considered one of the most perfect specimens extant of the Doric



Palermo.

order. Farther to the east at Selinunti, the ruins of Selinus present a scene still more striking and awful. Here may be distinctly traced three noble temples, of which the materials still remain, but only a few solitary columns are standing; all the rest lie on the ground, in huge and shapeless blocks, forming the most stupendous mass of ruin to be found in Europe.

Trapani, the ancient Drepanum, poetically distinguished as the place where Anchises died, and where Æneas celebrated his obsequies, is still a considerable town, near the western promontory of Sicily, the ancient Lilybæum. It is well fortified, and has a good harbour, where there is considerable trade in the export of salt made in its vicinity, and of barilla. It carries on briskly the fisheries of tunny and of coral, which last is obtained both from the coast of the island and that of Africa. Not far from Trapani is Segeste, a simple, grand, and almost entire edifice, standing on a solitary hill. Marsala, almost on the very site of Lilybæum, is a considerable town, exporting wine that is much esteemed. Near it the quarries of Mazzara appear to have furnished the stone of which the edifices in this part of Sicily have been constructed.

The ascent of Etna is a general object with Sicilian travellers. In proceeding from Catania, they pass through three successive zones: first, that of rich cultivated fields, then that of plants and aromatic shrubs, and lastly, the region of scorix, ashes, and perpetual snow. On reaching the summit, they view the crater filled with vast volumes of smoke, and obtain a fine panoramic view over all Sicily and the adjoining shores of Italy.

The Lipari Islands, twelve in number, and situated from twelve to thirty-five miles northward from the Sicilian coast, are entirely volcanic, and appear to have been thrown up from the sea by the action of fire. Lipari itself contains a hill of white pumice, which forms an article of trade, and its crater displays various specimens of beautifully crystallized sulphur. Stromboli has a volcano, remarkable for being in perpetual activity. Every day, at short intervals, the eruptions issue



forth like great discharges of artillery, and the sides of the mountain are covered with the red-hot stones that are ejected, and rush down into the sea. The inhabitants of these islands are a bold, active, and industrious race. The activity of submarine fires has been manifested on another side of Sicily, by the rise of Graham's Island; only, indeed, a volcanic rock, which again sunk under water.

The Sicilians displayed admirable spirit and heroism in 1848. So much exertion and so many sacrifices were not anticipated by those who were acquainted with the degrading system of government under which they long had groaned. The present state of affairs is not much better than things were before the revolution. There is no true liberty of speech or action in Sicily.

The government of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies is absolute, as it was before the struggle of the liberals in 1848. Even the power of a numerous nobility cannot check the will of the monarch—and all know the character of the present sovereign's will. The army, on the peace footing, numbers 60,000 men, besides several regiments of Swiss. The navy consists of one ship-of-the-line, three frigates, four sloops-of-war, and four smaller vessels.\*

The great body of the inhabitants of the kingdom are catholics. In 1842, the number of priests, monks, and nuns reached 65,000 persons, and since then, the number has increased. There are about eight thousand Greek Christians and a few Jews. With regard to the means of education, we may note that there are four universities, five lyceums, at least one gymnasium in each province, seven hundred and eighty Latin schools, and two thousand eight hundred common schools. Still the mass of the people are ignorant.

\* Ungewitter.



## Tuscany.

THE Grand Duchy of Tuscany comprises the north-western part of middle Italy, having an area of 8,844 square miles, and 1,750,000 inhabitants.

Tuscany ranks next to the Roman states as the theatre of great historical events, and has surpassed Rome itself as the seat of modern learning. Its first glories even preceded those of the metropolis. The Etruscans, the earliest masters of Italy, were found by the Romans divided into ten powerful, brave, and, in some respects, civilized commonwealths. They were vanquished, however, and so completely destroyed, that the antiquary seeks in vain to fix the site of Veii, Fidenæ, and of the other large and strong cities, on which flocks have now fed for more than two thousand years. Under Rome, Etruria, though held in some veneration as a seat of early religion and learning, never reached any political importance. Amid the tumult of the Middle Ages, however, there arose in it a cluster of proud republics. Florence, Pisa, Sienna, Pistoia, acquired distinction for their wealth, their valour, their lofty spirit of independence, and their zealous cultivation of the arts and sciences. Under the influence of freedom, they performed achievements and erected monuments on a scale much beyond their narrow territory and limited population. By a series of revolutions, internal and external, these states have been stripped of all their greatness and glory, and united, notwithstanding their deadly hatred of each other, under the sway of a prince of the house of Austria. Little remains of the commerce and industry by which Florence was formerly so distinguished; but the vale of the Arno, the plain of Pisa, and the environs of Sienna, are still as highly cultivated and productive as any part of Europe. The arts of painting and architecture are fallen from their ancient eminence, but the monuments of them remain, and are rendered more interesting by the tints which time has thrown over them. The

principal towns are Florence, 105,000 inhabitants; Leghorn, 88,000; Pisa, 22,000; Sienna, 24,000; Prato, 11,000; Pistoia, 12,000; Arezzo, 7000; Lucca, 25,000.

Florence, which attained so great a name under the humane and enlightened sway of the Medici, is still a delightful city. Its situation is peculiarly happy, in the vale of the Arno, which forms one continued interchange of garden and grove, enclosed by hills and distant mountains. Its public buildings are fine, though all modern. Being surpassed by those of Rome, they no longer excite any peculiar interest. The great cathedral, however, while St. Peter's was not yet constructed, ranked as the most majestic edifice in Italy; and the form of its dome is supposed to have at least suggested that of the other more majestic one. The palaces, also, with the same character, have a similar uniformity; and many of them, erected during the ages of dire and deadly feud, exhibit, in their approaches at least, an attention to strength rather than to beauty. The Gallery is the chief pride of Florence, both as to its structure and contents. It has twenty apartments branching off from it, in each of which the productions of a particular school or class of art are exhibited. In ancient sculpture this collection has perhaps no rival, since it contains the Venus brought from the Medici palace, the group of Niobe, the Faun, and many other masterpieces. The paintings are so arranged as to form a complete history of Italian art, from the era in which it was a mere object of curiosity to that when it was displayed in its full splendour. It comprises also some of the greatest masterpieces of Raphael, Titian, Andre del Sarto; and is adorned with some of those belonging to the principal schools beyond the Alps. The French, having selected and carried off sixty-three, left it completely shorn of its ornaments; but those have now all resumed their places. There are few paintings, but pretty numerous sculptures by Michael Angelo, especially those which adorn the tomb of the Medici.

The environs of Florence are nearly as romantic as those of Rome, and not separated by any intervening desert, but

rising in its close vicinity. Vallombrosa, a grand and solemn scene, where "Etrurian shades high over-arched embower," has been rendered classical by the immortal verse of Milton, who is supposed to have drawn from it his picture of Paradise, when he describes it—

———"shade above shade,  
A woody theatre of stateliest view."

Fiesole, on an eminence, commands an enchanting view of Florence and the vale of Arno. Once the rival of that city, it is now a lonely and delightful village, and was the favourite spot to which the greatest men of Florence retired for the enjoyment of rural contemplation. Milton refers to the top of Fiesole as a happy point for observing the phenomena of the heavenly bodies.

Pisa, situated in a fertile and beautiful plain, was long one of the proudest and most prosperous of the commercial republics of Italy. Subjected by Florence, after a long contest, and now involved in the same common slavery, her wealth has disappeared, and her population has been reduced from 100,000 to 22,000. A solemn character of fallen grandeur still invests her. Her four edifices, the cathedral, the baptistery, the leaning tower, and the Campo Santo, form one of the grandest existing ranges of architecture, all built of the finest marble. The style is not altogether pure, being usually termed the Moresco Gothic; but Mr. Forsyth is rather of opinion that it is a mere corruption of the Greek model, retaining, however, much beauty. The cathedral is the most spacious and splendid of these edifices; but the campanile, or belfry, is the most remarkable. It is a tower of six successive stories of arches, supported by pillars. But its grand peculiarity is, that it has actually deviated fourteen feet from the perpendicular, yet has thus stood for three hundred years, without the slightest tendency toward a fall. The deviation appears to have been in consequence of the softness of the ground, but it is a striking proof of skilful and solid construction, that this lofty edifice has not only re-

mained firm for so long a period, but does not even now give the least menace of ruin.

Sienna, after acquiring a great name among the Italian republics, sustained a fate similar to that of Pisa. It is situated in a hilly and even mountainous country; which, however, yields abundantly the olive, the vine, and in many places grain. The Monte Polciano and Chianti grapes give a wine superior to what is usually found in Italy. The southern district, however, consists of maremma, connected with the great Roman one. The nobles reside chiefly in the city, in the usual effeminate manner, and still retaining a remnant of those deadly feuds by which their order was formerly rent. It has some remains of the once extensive silk manufactory. Sienna had a respectable secondary school of painting, of which Vanni and Peruzzi were the heads; but its most remarkable monument is the pavement of its cathedral, the work of Micarino and other artists, who, by the mere combination of white and gray marble, hatched with mastic, produced the effect of the finest mosaic.

Leghorn is almost the only modern and prosperous town in the compass of the Tuscan territory. When ceded by Genoa in 1421, it was only a petty village; but the able arrangements of the Medici raised it to the rank it has since held as the first commercial city of Italy, and the great centre of Mediterranean commerce. It is airy and well built, with broad streets, fourteen churches, one Armenian, and two Greek chapels, and even a magnificent synagogue; the necessary toleration of commerce overcoming even Italian bigotry. There are, however, no edifices which excite any recollections of antiquity, or can compare with those which adorn the other cities of Italy.

In the rest of Tuscany we may remark Cortona, the ancient capital of Etruria, supposed to be the most ancient city of Italy. The antique walls still remain as the substruction of the modern ones; and their vast uncemented blocks, which have subsisted for ages, mark the solidity of Etruscan masonry. Cortona is now reduced to five thousand inhabitants;

but it is distinguished by the Tuscan Society, which has done much to illustrate the antiquities of Etruria. Perugia, also an ancient Etrurian state, is still a clean pretty town, delightfully situated on the lake of that name. Arezzo is a name rendered classic by the birth of Petrarch, of Redi, and of Pignotti. Bibbiena is a thriving little town, in the centre of the Casertine, inhabited by an industrious peasantry, who are reckoned to have the best hogs and the best chestnuts of all Italy.

Since 1847, the small duchy of Lucca has formed part of Tuscany. Though for the most part composed of mountain defiles, this territory is more densely populated than any other portion of Italy. The nobles of Lucca have always been distinguished for a superior education and deportment, and the people for an industry and enterprise unusual among Italians. In consequence of these things, the country is happy and prosperous.

Before the revolutions of 1848, the Tuscan government was absolute. It was then made constitutional, but the duke has since restored the old state of affairs. The Roman Catholic religious system prevails among the people, there being upward of two hundred monasteries and convents, and about 5,500 monks and nuns. There are three universities in Tuscany, at Pisa, Sienna, and Florence. Besides these, there are four colleges, sixteen seminaries, and sixteen gymnasiums, and numerous common schools. The Tuscan army, on the peace footing, numbers six thousand men. The state has a few small vessels of war.

### **The Kingdom of Sardinia.**

THE Sardinian States are of very dissimilar character, but united by political circumstances under one government. The dukes of Savoy, founders of the Sardinian family, made a conspicuous figure in European history, especially during the war of the Spanish succession. In return for their ser-

vices to the cause of the allies, they were recompensed with the island of Sicily. That island was afterward, in consequence, it should seem, of a very bad bargain, exchanged for Sardinia, from which the house assumed the royal title. Under the domination of Napoleon, the king was expelled from all his Italian territories, and owed to British protection alone the preservation of Sardinia. After the triumph of the allies, he was not only replaced in all his former possessions in Italy, but the state of Genoa, instead of being restored to its lost independence, was subjected to his sway. The kingdom of Sardinia consists, therefore, of four distinct parts,—Piedmont, Genoa, Savoy, Sardinia.

The total area of the kingdom is 29,245 square miles, and the population amounts to 5,292,000 inhabitants.

Piedmont, or “the foot of the mountains,” is the most valuable possession of this crown. It forms a continuation of the plain of Lombardy, somewhat narrowed, and more closely bounded by the mightiest ranges of the Alps and Apennines; the former on the north and west, the latter on the south. The Po, running through its centre, divides it into two nearly equal parts, and receives here all its early tributaries; which, being so near their mountain sources, are liable to sudden and terrible inundations, distressing to the agriculturist and dangerous to the traveller. The chief produce is silk, which is reckoned superior to any other in Italy, and consequently in Europe; and in Turin and some other cities remains exist of very extensive silk manufactures; but the greater part of the produce is exported raw. The government is constitutional, in many respects a model for Italians.

Turin maintains its place among the beautiful cities of Italy. Its situation is as fine as possible, amid the rich valley of the Po, surrounded by an amphitheatre of vine-covered hills; while lofty mountains, with their summits clad in perpetual snow, tower in the distance. The streets are long and regular, ornamented with lines of porticos, and opening at their termination to fine views over the surrounding country:

it is a little city of palaces. The churches and mansions are spacious, and of rich materials; but few display that classic taste in which real beauty consists, and which ennobles the Roman and Venetian structures: the vases of pure gold, the silver images, and the crosses of ruby, were all converted by French avidity into current coin. The most striking edifice is the church of the Superga, built on the steepest hill which crowns the city. The ancient palace of the dukes of Savoy is a huge brick edifice, resembling a fortress rather than a palace. Turin has a considerable number of paintings, not marking any particular school, as none ever arose in this part of Italy, but chiefly composed of Flemish and other ultramontane productions. The university is very extensive, and contains important collections, among which those of natural history, natural philosophy, medals, and antiques, are particularly noticed. The library is also rich in curious works and valuable manuscripts. The citadel of Turin forms a very strong fortress. The population of Turin amounts to one hundred and thirty-five thousand inhabitants.

The other cities of Piedmont are chiefly remarkable for their strength, having been erected when this country was a seat of almost perpetual war. The strongest is Alessandria, built in the twelfth century, at the junction of the Bormida and the Tanaro. It is large and very strong; besides which, the town is the seat of extensive fairs. Near it is the celebrated field of Marengo. The once strong fortifications of Tortona have been demolished. Vercelli, the former capital of this part of Italy, and distinguished by some fine structures, is now thinly inhabited and dreary. Novara is a gloomy antique frontier town toward Lombardy. Coni, among the Alps, is considered the bulwark of the kingdom on the side of France. Susa, once the capital of Piedmont under its marquises, is a retired pleasant little town, on the immediate frontier of France. Nice is the capital of a little country scarcely Italian, beyond the Alps. Though it cannot be said to be well built, it is agreeable; and, as the environs are beautiful, and the air mild, it is a frequent resort of

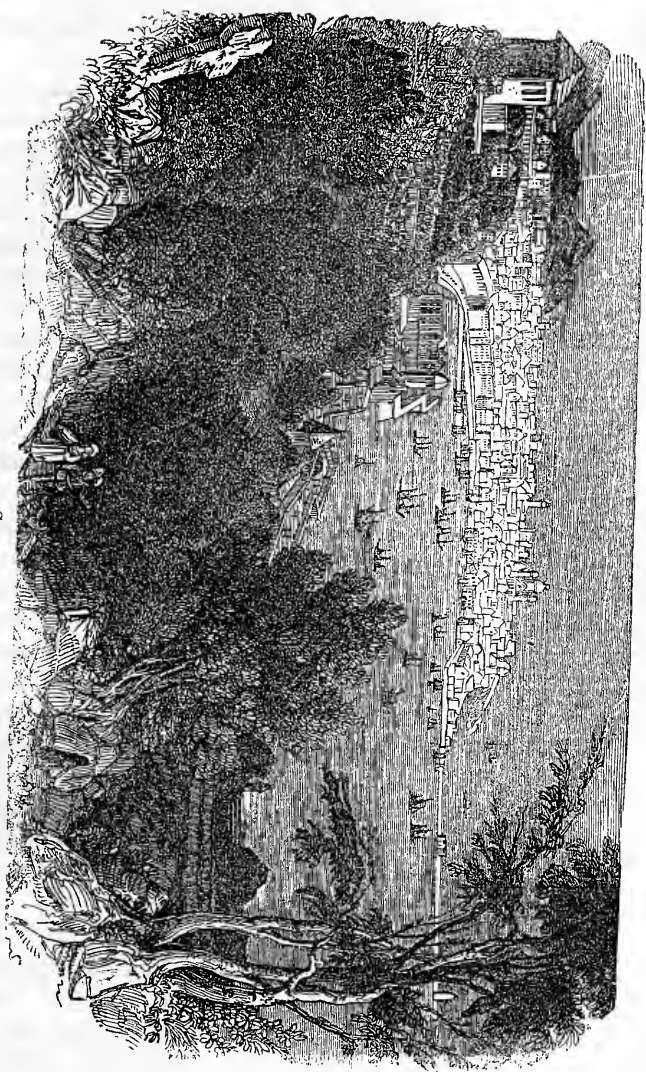


English invalids. The inhabitants number thirty-seven thousand.

The territory of Genoa is situated on the sloping steep of the Apennine, where it separates from the Maritime Alps, and stretches eastward; not separated from the sea by a broad plain, as in the rest of its line, but presenting to it narrow valleys and mountain declivities facing the south. These steep barriers are passable only at a few points; and the Bochetta, a very steep and lofty defile, forms the only practicable approach to Genoa from the interior. This district, the country of the ancient Ligurians, is not favourable for the operations of the plough; but olives in abundance, silk, and tolerable wine, are advantageously produced from it.

Genoa, surnamed the Superb, the great naval republic which, in the annals of Italian wealth, commerce, and splendour, ranked only and scarcely second to Venice, presents but a shadow of her former greatness. Her navigators were of a peculiarly bold and adventurous character; and she was the native city of Christopher Columbus. Her settlements in the remote peninsula of the Crimea enabled her to bring into Europe, by a peculiar and circuitous route, the commodities of India. Depressed by a once haughty and now indolent aristocracy, and eclipsed by the rivalry of the northern nations, Genoa had lost all her principles of prosperity, before her independence was crushed by the revolutionary arms of France. Yet it seems impossible to applaud the conduct of the Allies, in annexing her to Sardinia, though with permission to preserve her senate and outward forms of administration. The wealth of the great days of Genoa was, as usual, embodied in palaces. These are arranged in one continuous line of street, extending, under three different names, through the city, all the rest of which is a mere chaos of dark and dirty lanes. These palaces are boasted as being, for richness of materials and profuse ornament, the most splendid in Italy, and many of them are every way fit to be the residence of the greatest monarchs. They have one ornament peculiar to themselves, which consists in fresco

paintings on the exterior of the walls, many by masters of some eminence; and, in this fine climate, these remain unimpaired for centuries. The design, however, both here and in the churches, wants that elegance and purity of taste by which the structures of Venice have been rendered so admirable. Ornament and glare seem to have been the ruling passion of the Genoese. Her nobles, though all sunk, and many reduced to poverty, would spend their last farthing in supporting the pomp of their ancient mansions. Hence these have now a silent and desolate aspect, and have been compared to the ruined monuments of an excavated city. They are filled with pictures, gilding, arabesque, frescos, dust, moths, and dirt; exhibiting a combination of ancient splendour and present decay. Genoa has not altogether the magical effect produced by the long lines of canal which intersect Venice; but her position, occupying one side of the spacious amphitheatre which forms the harbour, and spreading her streets and churches, and then her suburbs and villas, over a vast semicircular tract of crags, rocks, and declivities, gives her, toward the sea, a highly magnificent and imposing aspect. The city has also the disadvantage of being so closely bounded by rocks, that no level spot is left on which a carriage can drive; and the neighbouring villas can be reached only in chairs carried by porters, who are endowed with singular agility and alertness. Genoa, though fallen from her ancient greatness, is still considerable, and has of late even somewhat increased. She manufactures rich velvets, damasks, and satins, to the value of two million of dollars; and she carries on the trade of the Sardinian dominions in Italy, and partly that of Switzerland. She exports her own manufactures, olive oil in abundance, rice, cheese, thrown silk, and Swiss printed cottons. The productions of the Levant and of Southern Italy are found in her warehouses. She imports salt fish, British cottons and woollens, grain, wool, cotton, and colonial produce. Among the chief articles imported in 1832, were salt fish, hides, cochineal, cotton, sugar, pigs of lead. The population now



Genoa.

number 120,000 persons. Savana, Chiavara, and Voltri, which carry on considerable trade, are the other chief towns in the duchy.

Savoy is a province of considerable extent, which in its surface and aspect is much more analogous to Switzerland than to Italy: it consists of rugged rocks, and mountains rising into the regions of perpetual snow; interspersed, however, with a number of fertile and agreeable valleys. Some of the principal passes over the Alps into Italy are through Savoy, which till lately was the only one from France or Switzerland that was passable for carriages. The Little St. Bernard, by which Hannibal is now supposed to have passed, is situated in Savoy. It was much improved by Napoleon. Many of these rocks, composed of loose limestone strata, are perpetually crumbling. In 1248, a great part of Mont Grenier, near Chamberry, fell, burying a village and church, and overspreading the surface of five parishes, which are still covered with the fragments, piled in small conical hillocks. Mont Blanc, the loftiest mountain in Europe, is within the limits of Savoy. The Savoyards are brave, industrious, poor, more social than the Swiss, though less noted for cleanliness. The towns in this elevated district are agreeable and rural, situated in its most fertile and open plains, but do not attain to much magnitude or importance. Chamberry, on the high road into Italy, is an old town, somewhat gloomy, but not ugly, and in the midst of a variegated and beautiful country. Population fifteen thousand. Moutiers, capital of the high district of Tarentaise, and Annecy, at the extremity of a picturesque lake of the same name, are pleasantly situated, though not well-built places.

The island of Sardinia is one of the least valuable portions of the kingdom, though possessed of advantages which should render it very much the reverse: few regions exceed it in natural fertility; the surface is finely variegated with gentle hills, which only along the western coast assume the character of mountains. Grain, notwithstanding the most wretched cultivation, affords a surplus for export. The wines

are reckoned equal to those of Spain, and the olives to those of Genoa and Provence. The salt-works and the tunny fishery are very important objects; and the situation of Sardinia, in the heart of the Mediterranean, and with a number of fine harbours, might afford the opportunity of an extensive commerce. Yet the population is in the most uncultivated and savage state, perhaps, of any in Europe. The peasantry in the interior are clothed, in a great measure, in shaggy goat or sheepskins; they subsist chiefly by the produce of their flocks, and by hunting; and go constantly armed, for their own defence, against the numerous and desperate banditti, by whom the mountains are infested. The Sardinian government appears really to have made very extraordinary exertions for this rude appanage. The want of roads, and the extensive commons, were considered the two chief causes which perpetuated its evils. A plan was therefore traced to form one great road across the kingdom from north to south, between the two leading points of Cagliari and Sassari, from which eight cross roads might branch off so as to embrace the most important points in the east and west. The principal road was begun in November, 1822. Laws were also passed to authorize and encourage the division of commons. The good effects of these measures, are apparent. At present, Sardinia has the tunny fishery, the produce of which varies much with the state of the wind, and other circumstances. Sea salt, evaporated by the heat of the sun in the shallow bays near Cagliari, Palmas, and Oristano, is employed in salting both meat and fish, and as an object of direct exportation. Grain, produced to the amount of nearly three millions of bushels, was formerly the principal object of export; but its value has been greatly reduced by the competition of Odessa. The horses are of a good breed: according to M. Cibraria, thirty-two thousand only are tame, and twenty thousand wild. He gives a still more striking picture of the rude state of the country when he adds, that of the cattle, one hundred and twenty thousand are tame, and three hundred and fifty thousand wild; and that, of

eight hundred and forty thousand sheep, the whole belong to the latter class. There is, however, a considerable export of salted meat and cheese. About a third of the surface consists of forest, a considerable portion of which is oak, and well adapted for shipbuilding. Cagliari and Sassari are both considerable cities; the former having a considerable trade, and thirty thousand population, both being crowded, ill built, and ill paved; the latter smaller, but more elegant: both have universities, with tolerable libraries. Oristano has a fine harbour, and flourishes by the tunny fishery, and by the culture of wine in its neighbourhood.

With the exception of about twenty-two thousand Waldenses, and eight thousand Jews, all the inhabitants of the Kingdom of Sardinia are catholics, under the church authority of seven archbishops and thirty-four bishops. There are three hundred and thirty-four monasteries and ninety-five nunneries in the kingdom. There are four universities, eighty-five colleges, thirty-nine seminaries, and a number of common schools. But general education is in a very backward state. The mass of the people lack intelligence, but they, especially the Piedmontese, are brave, hardy, industrious, and anxious to enjoy the blessings of free institutions. In no part of Italy can be found a better appreciation of the rights of the people, and the duties of the government. Still there is much to reform in Sardinia—much that is common to all Italy.

### The Duchy of Parma.

PARMA is situated between the continental part of Sardinia and the Duchy of Modena, and on the north is separated from Lombardy by the Po, having an area of two thousand two hundred and seventy-nine square miles, and 479,000 inhabitants.\* The country is level, the soil fertile, and agriculture highly improved. Commerce and manufactures are

\* Ungewitter.

neglected. The government is absolute, the duke belonging to the house of Austria. The body of the people belong to the Catholic church. There are twenty-one convents in the duchy and the schools are under the care of the monks and nuns. The government has instituted an order of nobility, and the military numbers eight hundred men. The duchy is historically divided into Parma, Piacenza, and Gnastalla. Parma, the capital, is a very handsome city, and contains 41,000 inhabitants, and numerous splendid edifices. Piacenza contains 30,000 inhabitants, and is finely situated on the Po. Austria has a garrison in the citadel of this town. Gnastalla is also situated on the Po, and contains about six thousand inhabitants.

### **The Duchy of Modena.**

MODENA is a fine, but small domain, situated at the foot of the Apennines, between Parma and the popedom, and contains an area of two thousand one hundred and nine square miles, 490,000 inhabitants. The soil is fertile and well cultivated. Carrara marble is the most noted of its natural features. Modena is held as a fief of Austria, and its duke belongs to the house of Hapsburg-Lorraine. Education is well administered. The religion of the people is catholic, and there are fourteen monasteries and nine nunneries in the duchy. Modena is the chief city. It is extremely beautiful, though without any object particularly striking, except the high steeple of the cathedral. The inhabitants number 28,000. The other important towns in the duchy are Carrara, with eight thousand five hundred inhabitants, its famous marble and academy of sculptors; Mirandola, with five thousand five hundred inhabitants, Corregio, Novellara, and Reggio—which has nineteen thousand inhabitants, and numerous convents.

## Switzerland.

SWITZERLAND forms a mountainous territory in the centre of Europe, occupying the west of the great range of the Alps, which divides France and Germany from Italy. It is remarkable for the grandeur of its natural features and scenery, and for the freedom of its political institutions.

Switzerland is bounded by the great kingdoms of France, Germany, and Italy, whose frontiers enclose it on all sides; France on the east; Germany, and more particularly Swabia and the Tyrol, on the south and west; the Italian states, Milan, Piedmont, and Savoy, on the south. In general, Switzerland terminates where its mighty mountain heights slope down to the vast plains which extend over the surrounding regions; but on the side of the Tyrol on the west, and of Savoy on the south-west, the line is drawn across the crest of the Alps themselves, which stretch away with almost undiminished grandeur toward opposite seas. Its position is nearly between  $46^{\circ}$  and  $48^{\circ}$  north latitude; and  $6^{\circ}$  and  $11^{\circ}$  east longitude. It may be about two hundred miles in length, and one hundred and forty in breadth, and comprises an area of nineteen thousand square miles.

The surface of Switzerland, bounded and traversed as it is by the highest ranges in Europe, consists almost wholly of mountains and lakes. The Alpine chains, however, do not swell, like those of America and Asia, into mighty and continuous table-lands; they are separated by deep valleys or narrow plains, which form the basin of large rivers, or the bed of extensive lakes; hence arises a singular variety of climate and aspect; for while the valleys beneath are scorched by the intensest rays of the sun, perpetual winter reigns in the heights above, and the vegetation of the arctic circle passes into the snows of the polar world.

The great rivers which water the surrounding regions either take their rise in Switzerland, or are swelled by tributaries



from that country. The Rhine and the Rhone have both a long course, and have risen to streams of the first magnitude before they pass its frontier. These, with the Aar, the Reuss, and the Tesino, rise from the vicinity of each other, where the two great chains nearly unite, and where the Shreckhorn, the Finster-Aar-horn, and St. Gothard tower above the wild valleys of Urseren and the Upper Valais.

Lakes form a conspicuous feature in the physical structure and scenery of Switzerland. Its rivers, after rolling for a considerable space through mighty mountain valleys, accumulate a mass of waters which, when they reach the plains, no longer find a channel capable of containing them, but spread into wide watery expanses. The lakes of Switzerland are large, though none of them have that vast extent which could entitle them to be classed as inland seas. The smiling valleys and cultivated hills which form their immediate border, with the mighty mountains which tower behind in successive ranges, till they terminate in icy pinnacles rising above the clouds, produce a union of the sublime and beautiful which no other part of Europe, or perhaps of the world, can rival.

The Lake of Geneva, or Lemman Lake, is the most extensive, being about fifty miles in length, and twelve in its greatest breadth. The varied beauties of its northern bank, the opposite heights of Meillerie, and Mont Blanc rising behind in the distance, render it perhaps the most beautiful lake in the world. The Lake of Lucerne, or of the Four Forest Cantons, has, from its winding form, and the great variety of its scenery, sometimes been considered as superior. The Lake of Zurich does not offer the same sublime beauties; but the gentle elevations by which it is diversified form many scenes of extreme beauty. That of Constance has none of the mountain grandeur of interior Switzerland, but its extended banks present many pleasing, cultivated and pastoral scenes. The southern lakes, Maggiore, Como, Lugano, which half belong to Italy, exhibit many magical scenes, combining the gay splendour of the Italian plain with the grandeur of its mountain boundary; yet they do not possess that deep

stillness and solemnity which gives a peculiar charm to the lakes that are entirely enclosed within the Alpine barrier.

On the downfall of Napoleon's power, the free constitution which formed the boast of the cantons, was, in Berne, Friburg, and some others, modified by a large and somewhat severe mixture of aristocracy. Admission to public offices was limited to a few privileged families; and the sway over the Pays de Vaud, the Grisons, and other subject states, was somewhat rigorous. This distinction of sovereign and subject territories has now been happily obliterated, and even the interior predominance of aristocratic principles is much broken up; but each of the twenty-two states has a particular constitution of its own, though all are united by the common tie of the federal government.

The Helvetic diet consists of two deputies from each canton, which meet once a year. Extraordinary meetings may also be called, on the requisition of any five cantons. This assembly takes cognisance of every thing that concerns the foreign relations and the general defence of the country. The diet has been much occupied by the unwelcome remonstrances made by the great sovereigns respecting the liberties taken by the press in regard to the conduct of foreign powers, and the refuge allowed to individuals who have become obnoxious through their support of liberal opinions. On these points, the diet, conscious of their own inferior power, have been generally obliged to yield. When the diet is not in session, the *vorort*, or directory, vested in the cantons of Berne, Zurich, and Lucerne, alternately for two years, manage the affairs of the confederacy.

The religion of Switzerland is divided between the protestant and the catholic. Schweitz, Uri, Unterwalden, Lucerne, Zug, Friburg, Soleure, Valais, and Tesino are catholic: St. Gall, Appenzell, Aargau, and Grisons are mixed. The others may be ranked as protestant; though even in Geneva there are 15,000 catholics. The protestant churches were at first strictly Calvinistic, both as to doctrine and discipline; but



Swiss Peasants.

the Genevan church has in a great measure renounced the tenets of this school of theology, and those who continue to profess them are even exposed to some degree of persecution. The presbyterian form of church government, however, still prevails throughout protestant Switzerland. The catholic religion exhibits this peculiar feature, that, instead of being, as usual, combined with high monarchical principles, it is established among the most purely democratic of the Swiss republics. The protestant cantons, however, are observed to be decidedly the most flourishing and industrious.

Learning, though not very generally diffused throughout Switzerland, has been cultivated with great ardour at Geneva and Zurich, both of which have a character more decidedly intellectual than most European cities. The names of Haller,

Lavater, Rousseau, Gessner, Zimmermann, and Sismondi throw lustre on Swiss literature. The printing and bookselling trade which Geneva enjoyed while the French press laboured under severe restrictions, has been diminished. Elementary knowledge is general throughout the protestant population; and the systems of education established by Pestalozzi at Yverdun, and Fellenberg at Hofwyl, have drawn general attention. The habits and general forms of life are substantially German, modified in the western cantons, and especially in Geneva, by a somewhat intimate communication with France.

As to national character, the Swiss enjoy the reputation of being a plain, honest, brave and simple people, among whom linger the last remnants of antique and primitive manners. Their fond attachment to their native country is conspicuous, even amid the necessity which compels them to abandon it, and to enter the service of the neighbouring powers. It is observed that no sooner is the *Ranz des Vaches*, a simple mountain air, played in their hearing, than the hardy soldiers melt into tears. An ardent love of liberty, ever since the grand epoch of their liberation, has distinguished the Swiss people. Now, indeed, the influx of strangers, and the general mixture of nations, is said to have broken down much of what was antique and peculiar in Swiss manners; and travellers have complained that every mode of turning to account their temporary passage is as well understood as in the most frequented routes of France and Italy. The manufacturing districts also have undergone a great change; but in the higher pastoral valleys there may still be traced much of the original Swiss simplicity.

To an area of 15,315 square miles, Switzerland has a population of about 2,400,000 inhabitants.

For persons who have never seen these states, it is difficult to form any accurate idea of the general equality and indistinction that prevails among the inhabitants. The houses are built of wood, large, solid, and compact, with great pent-house roofs that hang very low, and extend beyond the area

of the foundation. This peculiar structure is to keep off the snow; and from its singularity, accords with the beautiful wildness of the country. The houses of the richer inhabitants in the principal burghs are of the same materials; the only difference consists in their being larger.

The houses of Basle are adorned on the outside with figures, of the sun, a bear, a hog, &c., which are generally accompanied with mottos; the following is an instance:—

“En Dieu je met tout mon espoir,  
Et je demeure au cochon noir.”

“All my hope is in God: and my house is known by the sign of the black pig.”

Switzerland being a mountainous country, the frosts are long and severe in winter; and the hills are sometimes covered with snow all the year long. In summer the inequality of the soil renders the same province very unequal in its seasons: on one side of these mountains the inhabitants are often reaping, while they are sowing on the other. The valleys, are, however, warm, fruitful, and well cultivated; and nothing can be more delightful than the summer months in this charming country. It is subject to rains and tempests, on which account public granaries are everywhere erected, to supply the failure of their crops. The feet of the mountains, and sometimes the very summits, are covered with vineyards, corn-fields, meadows, and pasture-grounds. In some parts there is a regular gradation from extreme wildness to high cultivation; in others, the transitions are very abrupt and very striking.

The fertility of the Grison country is such, that a field, ploughed by a single ox, produces first a crop of corn, then another of Indian wheat, afterward of radishes, and lastly, of fruits and vintage.

In most parts of Switzerland sumptuary laws are in force, as well to preserve the greatest plainness and simplicity of manners, as to banish every thing that has the appearance of superfluity and excess. No dancing is allowed, except on



Grisons.

particular occasions: silk, lace, and several other articles of luxury, are totally prohibited in some of the cantons; and even the head-dress of the ladies are subject to regulations. The citizens at the head of their government, in all public assemblies, appear in black cloaks and bands; while the peasants are usually clothed in a coarse cloth manufactured in their own country: their holiday dresses, which descend from father to son, being seldom worn out before the second or third generation. The apparel of the women is extremely plain, the head-dresses of those of the first quality generally consisting only of furs, the produce of the country.

The police is well regulated throughout Switzerland; liberty rarely degenerates into licentiousness, except, perhaps, on the day of their general assemblies, when it is impossible to prevent some degree of confusion in a meeting where there is scarcely any distinction of persons, and where every peasant considers himself as equal to the first magistrate.

The punishment of death is almost fallen into disuse; the people talk of an execution ten years after it has taken place. In Switzerland they are economical of human blood. The magistrates appear to be actuated by the maxim which inculcates, "that society ought not to cut off one of its members for a slight offence."

Instead of being subjected to capital punishments, felons are imprisoned in the house of correction. In these houses the regulations are so excellent and so mild—criminals are so well fed, and so well attended, that if it were not for the iron ring about the leg, the hook at the neck, and the chain by which they are linked together, many worthy people who are in poverty would be very happy in their situation.

If the atrocity of the crime should oblige the judges to pronounce sentence of death, the cord is the only instrument of punishment. "So humane are they," says the Marquis de Langle, "that the culprit is first made drunk, then is hanged, as it were, without perceiving it; he has no more idea of the death he is to suffer, than an oak about to be cut down has of its destruction."

Such is the simplicity that still prevails in some of the remote parts of Switzerland, that neither attorney nor notary is to be found there; that contracts are inscribed on pieces of wood, instead of parchment; and there are neither locks, nor thieves, nor pilferers. The valley of Praborgne, in the *dixain* of Visp is cited as one of those.

On each side of the road that runs through the valley of Muotta, in the canton of Schweitz, are several ranges of shops uninhabited, yet filled with various goods, of which the prices are marked; any passengers who wish to become purchasers

enter the shops, take away the merchandise, and deposit the price, which the owners call for in the evening.

At Ormont as soon as the return of the fair weather permits the shepherds to reascend, with their flocks and herds, those mountains which supply their summer feed, they proceed to the election of a king. Neither intrigues, factions, nor wealth, determine their suffrages. They calculate only the services done to their community. If any one of them by his intrepidity or skill has delivered them from the ravages of a bear, or has slain a voracious wolf, or has enabled them to get rid of some other nuisance, he is forced on a throne, which neither ceremony nor care surrounds. On these occasions, when appeal is made to his authority, a silent, solemn ring is formed about him, under the oldest tree of the mountain; his audience-hall is the circle of shade. Instead of a sceptre, he grasps a knotty staff; and perhaps some trophy of his prowess, as the skin of a wild beast, is the ornament of his person. If any shepherd has been convicted of profane swearing, or quarrelsome provocation, or has been guilty of any acts of intemperance, or of cruelty toward the cattle intrusted to his care, he is made to stand up in this circle: the accusation and defence are heard: the king dooms him to some adequate punishment; and the sentence is religiously executed. This despotic authority over the shepherds is exercised with great wisdom and equity.

The inhabitants of that part of Switzerland called Valais are very much subject to goitres, or large excrescences of flesh, that grow from the throat, and often increase to an enormous size; but what is more extraordinary, idiocy also remarkably abounds among them. Instances of both kinds perpetually attract the attention of travellers: some idiots may be seen basking in the sun with their tongues out, and their heads hanging down, exhibiting the most affecting spectacle of intellectual imbecility that can possibly be conceived. It is not altogether certain what are the causes which produce these strange phenomena.

Although the idiots are frequently the children of goitrous



parents, and have usually those swellings themselves, yet they are sometimes the offspring even of healthy parents, whose other children are properly organized, and are themselves free from guttural excrescences. These tumors, when they increase to a considerable magnitude, check perspiration, and render those who are afflicted with them exceedingly indolent and languid.

It is to be presumed that a people accustomed to these excrescences will not be shocked at their deformity; but they are not considered as beauties, as some writers have asserted. To judge from the accounts of many travellers, it might be supposed that the natives, without exception, were either idiots or goitrous; whereas, in fact, the Valaisans in general are a robust race; and all that which with truth can be affirmed is, that goitrous persons and idiots abound more in the districts of the Valais than perhaps in any other part of the globe.

Geneva, though a small canton, is the most interesting of any, from the activity and intellectual culture of its citizens, and the influence they have exercised over Europe. It is situated at the western extremity of the beautiful lake bearing the same name. The inhabitants speak the French language, and are chiefly professors of the Reformed religion. Geneva, the fortified capital, is the most populous and industrious city in Switzerland. It is distinguished for the intelligence of its society, its literary institutions, and its manufactures of watches and jewelry. The number of inhabitants reaches about thirty-one thousand.\* The neighbouring territory contains, among others, the towns of Versoix and Caronge. Many of the country seats are romantically situated and distinguished for their elegance.

The canton of Vaud formed originally part of the duchy of Savoy, from which, about the time of the Reformation, it was conquered by Berne; but that state, imbued with aristocratic ideas, communicated to its new acquisition few of the privileges which it had acquired for itself. It ruled the Pays

\* Ungewitter.

de Vaud as a subject state, and with some degree of severity. In the shock occasioned by the French invasion this territory obtained its emancipation, and exists now as a separate and independent canton. It occupies the whole northern border of the Lake of Geneva, which does not, like the southern, consist of Alps piled on Alps, but of gentle hills and smiling valleys, gradually sloping upward to the moderate elevation of the Jura. The vines of this region are considered equal to any in Europe ; and the wine made from them has a very considerable reputation. Lausanne, the capital, enjoys perhaps the finest site of any city in the world. Placed in the very centre of the Lemman Lake, it commands a full view over that noble expanse, and those ranges of mightiest Alps, on the opposite shore, which are terminated by the awful and snow-clad pinnacles of Mont Blanc. These attractions, heightened by those derived from the adventures of Rosseau, and his celebrated romance, have drawn a multitude of visitors and residents from all parts of Europe, who seek there an agreeable and beautiful retirement. The town, however, is neither large nor well-built, though it has a fine Gothic cathedral. The house of Gibbon, and the cabinet where he wrote the last lines of his history, are visited by travellers. Vevay, farther up the lake, is a somewhat thriving little village, almost equal in beauty to Lausanne, and commanding singularly fine views toward the head of the lake.

The canton of the Valais extends from the head of the Lake of Geneva along the upper valley of the Rhone, which almost wholly composes it. The Valais is one of the most singular, picturesque, and romantic regions that are to be found on the globe. It consists of a deep valley, one-hundred miles long, and from two to twelve in breadth, shut in on both sides by the most enormous mountains that are to be found in Europe ; on the south by the Italian chain, St. Bernard, Monte Rosa, the Simplon, and St. Gothard ; on the north by the Schreckhorn, the Wetterhorn, the Grimsel, the Gemmi. The lower districts, extending along the Rhone, are sheltered from every wind, and sometimes exposed to a

scorching heat, like that of the centre of Africa. Their plains produce grain, rich pastures, and even luxuriant vines; but these gifts of nature are not improved with the same diligence as in the neighbouring cantons of Berne and Vaud.

The canton of Berne, separated from the Valais by the great chain of the central horns or peaks, though shorn of its subject territories, holds still somewhat the most prominent place among the Swiss republics. Berne is divided into two parts, of which the northern, comprising a great part of the plain of Switzerland, is well cultivated by a laborious peasantry. The southern consists of the Oberland, or the declivity of the mountain range, a tract entirely employed in pasturage, where \$1500 to \$2500 is esteemed a fortune, and tiled dwellings and glass windows give to their owners a reputation of wealth. The pressure, however, of a redundant population has occasionally reduced them to severe distress.

The city of Berne, generally considered the capital of Switzerland, is situated in the centre of the plain, in a commanding position above the Aar, which nearly encircles it on all sides. Fine and ancient woods reach almost to the gates of the city, bearing a noble and even majestic aspect. It suggests the idea of a Roman town; yet its handsomest houses and most sumptuous edifices date all since 1760. The Gothic cathedral of the fifteenth century, the church of St. Esprit, the mint, and the hospital, are among its principal public buildings; while the private mansions are handsome, and solid rather than showy. But the magnificence of Berne is mainly derived from its wide and lofty terraces, commanding the most superb views over the plain beneath, and the entire range of the Alps; from the spacious fountains by which its streets are supplied and refreshed, and from the fine avenues of trees which penetrate through the city. The constitution of Berne is the most aristocratic in Switzerland; and notwithstanding the diminished power of the state, this spirit is still in full operation. The scramble and contest for office, even among the nearest relations, is said in this small sphere to be as eager as in the greatest capitals. Berne is

not, nor ever was, a literary town; yet it has a public library, to which some valuable collections are attached. Population, twenty-four thousand.

The Four Forest Cantons, Schweitz, Uri, Unterwalden, and Lucerne, the cradle of Swiss liberty, form a territory situated to the east of Berne, and south of the Valais. Here nature begins to lay aside that awful and rugged character which she wears in the southern chains, and in those enclosing the Rhone. The mountains are not so continuous, or so lofty; their upper regions are not covered with eternal snow, nor do fields of ice, descending from their sides, cover the surrounding plains. The two chief heights, those of Pilate and the Righi, rise solitary, like columns, to the height of six or seven thousand feet, above ranges which do not exceed half that elevation. This country is crossed in all directions by the Lake of Lucerne, or of the Four Forest Cantons, of great extent, and shooting branches in every direction, which form each as it were a separate lake. Although the objects are not so grand as in the valleys of Chamouni or of the Rhone, yet the great variety of aspects, the interchange of rural and Alpine scenery, the numerous villages and farm-houses perched on the cliffs, render the banks of this lake, in the opinion of many, the most pleasing portion of Swiss landscape. Some of the mountains, from their solitary elevation, and the crumbling materials of which they are composed, inspire a constant apprehension of their breaking down.

The cities in this pastoral region do not attain to any important magnitude. Schweitz, the cradle of the Helvetic confederacy, to which it has given its name, is little more than a handsome village, situated amid the finest mountain pastoral scenery, rich meadows, and verdant knolls, embosomed amid rugged cliffs and Alpine peaks, tinkling with the sound of innumerable cow-bells, and echoing with the tune of the Ranz des Vaches. Lucerne, on the west, is considerably larger, and may be considered the capital of the Forest Cantons. It is nobly situated on an arm of the lake

enclosed by Mount Pilate, and others of the loftiest heights in this part of Switzerland. The city itself is adorned by some ancient and venerable structures, and its different parts, separated by branches of the lake, are connected by wooden bridges of remarkable length and peculiar structure. The cabinets of Lucerne contain some interesting Swiss antiquities.

The canton of Unterwalden is likewise entirely mountainous and pastoral, enclosed by the high chain of the Surren Alps, which surround it with an almost inaccessible rampart. They form a decided contrast to the soft pastoral valleys of the interior, particularly that which surrounds the little lake of Sarnen. Here all that is gloomy and rugged in Alpine scenery, its peaks of naked rock, its glaciers, its snowy mountains, and roaring torrents disappear, and are succeeded by rounded hills of the most graceful form, covered with woods and the freshest verdure, and interspersed with rural abodes, which soften without impairing that character of stillness and solitude which reigns through every part of this romantic valley. Sarnen is the capital of what is called the Obwald; but Stantz, in the Nedwald, is the chief city of the canton. Uri, which only touches the lake at the south-east point by its little capital of Altorf, composes the fourth democratic canton. It extends to the south over a wild and awful range of the loftiest Alps, including that mass named Mont St. Gothard, which was supposed, till within this half century, to contain the most elevated peaks in Europe.

Zug is a little lake, with an encircling canton, the smallest and least populous in Switzerland. The lake, whose waters are the deepest of any except Constance, is surrounded by pleasing, pastoral hills, of but moderate elevation; on the south, however, the colossal heights of Righi and Pilate are reflected in its waters, and the dim forms of the glaciers appear in the distance. The town is seated on a hill so immediately above the lake, that in 1435, a whole street fell in, with its walls and towers, and sixty persons perished. The place is ancient, and has produced many warriors, who

distinguished themselves both in the native and foreign service.

Zurich, to the south-east of Zug, and approaching to the German border, is one of the most interesting of all the cantons, by its intelligence, industry, and prosperity. The long lake on which it is situated partakes not of the grand and awful character which marks the scenery of the High Alps. Its hills, green to the summit, are covered with villages, culture, and habitations; nature appears only under a soft and pleasing aspect; though still, to the south, a dim view is obtained of the snowy ranges of the High Alps. The city of Zurich is situated on the Linmat, where it issues out of the northern extremity of the lake. Zurich is the literary capital of German Switzerland. Even in the middle ages it was called "the learned;" and the exertions of Zuinglius at that era to restore the lost rights of religion, reason, and humanity, threw a lustre on its name. In modern times its fame has been chiefly poetical and imaginative; and the works of Bodmer, Gessner, Zimmerman, and Lavater have excited interest throughout Europe. Painting and music have also been cultivated with greater ardour and success than in any other part of Switzerland. Zurich possesses a library of forty thousand volumes, with some manuscripts of importance: it has also valuable collections in the different branches of natural history. Population, fifteen thousand.

The three cantons of Glarus, St. Gall, and Appenzell, which extend along the eastern frontier toward Germany, present a somewhat different aspect from those of the west and centre. They are covered to a great extent with mountain ranges, which, rising to the height of seven or eight thousand feet, do not reach the regions of perpetual snow, or pour down avalanches or glaciers into the plains beneath; but rise in varied shapes, dark, rugged, and awful. One of the leading features is the Lake of Wallenstadt, twelve miles long and three broad, where the naked cliffs rise in picturesque grandeur to an amazing height, and dip so perpendicularly into the water, as to leave very few points at which a

boat can approach. These mountain walls elsewhere enclose luxuriant valleys, which open as they proceed north toward the Lake of Constance; and a great part of St. Gall and Appenzell presents a level surface. Into these cantons the cotton manufacture has been introduced on a great scale, and has converted the hardy huntsmen and husbandmen of the Alps into weavers and embroiderers. At the same time, the original simplicity and honesty of the Swiss is supposed to have been greatly impaired by this change of habit.

Among the small capitals of those three cantons, St. Gall is the most important and the most ancient. During the ninth and tenth centuries, it was considered as the greatest seat of learning in Europe. Appenzell has adopted the manufacturing system in its fullest extent; and on its limited territory maintains the most dense population of any part of Switzerland. Though removed beyond the domain of the Higher Alps, it has several steep summits, which command extensive views over the neighbouring territories of Tyrol and Swabia. The population of Appenzell is divided into two quite distinct portions: the rural, which is almost all catholic; the manufacturing and commercial, almost wholly protestant. Glarus is situated among the most rugged and rocky tracts of this part of Switzerland. The town lies deep in a valley, overhung by ramparts of rock so elevated, that the sun in winter is seen only for four hours of the day. This buried situation, narrow, crooked streets, its diminutive and antiquated houses, with low entrances, heavy doors, and walls painted in fresco, the silence and stillness which prevails, unite in suggesting the idea of a city dug out of the earth, like Pompeii or Herculaneum.

Thurgovia, or Thurgau, which stands on the Lake of Constance, and on the Swabian border, is a tract in which Switzerland loses almost entirely its peculiar character. Only to the south, on the side of the Tockenbùrg, rise hills of two or three thousand feet high, covered with rich meadows and Alpine pastures. The rest consists of valleys and plains of extreme fertility, covered with vines and rich harvests. Two

crops of flax are raised in the year, and an extent of several leagues is covered with plantations of pears and apples, from which excellent cider is made. There are manufactures of very fine linen, which are still carried on, though the trade is injured by the general use of cotton stuffs. This territory is now erected into separate and independent canton, of which the little city of Frakenfeld, the ancient residence of the bailiffs, is the capital.

The city of Constance, though now belonging to the Grand Duchy of Baden, is locally attached to Thurgau and to Switzerland. Constance, during the Middle Ages, was one of the great imperial cities, possessing a population of thirty-six thousand souls, extensive linen manufactures, and a great inland trade. Its population is now reduced to two thousand souls: the grass grows in the streets; the iron doors turn on plated hinges, and have the figures of warriors carved on them; and the great hall, 153 feet long and 60 broad, in which the council met, is now employed as a yarn market. Constance is, however, beautifully situated on the lake of that name, called by the Germans the Bodensee. This wide expanse appears divested of all the awful grandeur which marks the interior regions; but the wide circuit of its cultivated shores, swelling into gentle hills, bears an aspect peculiarly soft and pleasing. Although this lake be everywhere surrounded with level country, it has the deepest water of any in Switzerland.

Schaffhausen is a small canton, which, situated entirely on the north or German side of the Rhine, scarcely belongs to Switzerland, unless through political ties arising out of peculiar circumstances. The capital was originally an imperial town; its burghers extended their possessions till, with a view to security, they sought and found admittance into the Helvetic League. The territory of Schaffhausen is diversified by hills of moderate elevation, thickly planted with vines, the produce of which is held in high estimation. The town of Schaffhausen was distinguished by a magnificent wooden bridge over the Rhine, constructed in 1758 by an artist of the can-



ton of Appenzell; but this celebrated erection was burned down by the French in April, 1799, when the Austrians obtained possession of Schaffhausen. It is still, however, distinguished and visited on account of one of the grandest phenomena of nature, the great fall of the Rhine.

Basle forms another frontier canton, and has also characters which make it only imperfectly Swiss. A steep mountain chain shuts it completely in from the rest of Switzerland, no part of which can be reached without crossing it. The slopes of this chain, in looking toward Basle, and descending to the fertile plain on the Rhine, are covered with rich pastures. Basle, though it has lost much of its former importance, is still the seat of a great transit trade; and forms an important military position, from its command of the first stone bridge over the Rhine. In the fine arts, this city could boast of Holbein, an eminent painter, many of whose best works still adorn its edifices. Population, twenty-three thousand.

The three cantons of Argovia, Soleure, and Friburg stretch from Basle in a south-westerly direction along the course of the Aar. They compose, along with part of Berne, the great plain of Switzerland, enclosed on one side by the ridge of the Jura, and on the other by the great range of the central glaciers. This plain presents not the same dead level as those of France and Italy, but is diversified by detached hills and branches of the Jura, some of which rise even to the height of five or six thousand feet; but these hills are green to the summit, generate no glaciers, and in summer throw off altogether their covering of snow. This district, accordingly, contains the richest pastures in Switzerland, where are produced the Gruyère and other cheeses, which enjoy so high a reputation throughout Europe. The cities of this district are among the most important in the confederacy. Friburg, picturesquely situated, partly on an irregular ridge of rocks, surrounded with walls and towers, partly on the plain beneath, forms a sort of capital of catholic Switzerland. The aristocratic spirit was carried in Friburg to an extraordinary

height; the magistrates had even, as at Venice, a secret council, by whose invisible machinery all affairs of state were conducted. An eminently exclusive spirit still prevails, which shuts the door against new men and new ideas, and opposes those modern improvements which have found a place in the neighbouring cantons. Some steps, however, though on a contracted scale, have been taken toward the instruction of the lower orders. Soleure is a small town and canton, governed by the same aristocratic spirit as Friburg. The canton includes some part of the range of the Jura; and the Weissenstein, a summit immediately behind the city, commands, according to Ebel, the finest view of the whole range of Swiss mountains that can any where be obtained. Aarburg, in the same canton, deserves notice, as the only fortified town in Switzerland.

The canton of Neufchatel, including Vallengin, covers a long line of the summits and valleys of the Jura. The political constitution of Neufchatel presents several anomalies: it has long been subject to the King of Prussia, a sovereign absolute elsewhere, but here strictly limited, exercising the executive power by his governor, but leaving the legislative functions in the hands of the people. Neufchatel has another relation, by which it forms one of the confederated cantons of Switzerland. On the whole, the people of this district have long enjoyed civil and political rights more ample than in most other parts even of Switzerland; and they accordingly drew numerous emigrants from the aristocratic cantons. Thus encouraged, and stimulated by the difficulties with which they had to contend, they have displayed an industry and ingenuity worthy of admiration. Not only the ground is carefully cultivated, but manufactures, especially watchmaking, have been carried to great perfection. Neufchatel is a small, well-built town, finely situated, above the lake near its northern extremity, and commanding delightful views over a great part of Switzerland. Yverdun, at the opposite end of the lake, is also an ancient and agreeable town. The inhabitants are distinguished by intellectual

culture, and their city by the residence of Pestalozzi, and by the schools formed according to his ingenious system. The high valleys of Locle and Chaux de Fond consist almost entirely of rocks scattered with the wildest and rudest irregularity; yet they are covered with a thriving and industrious population, employed in the making of lace and watches. The natives of these valleys have distinguished themselves by many important inventions in the latter art.

The Grisons form an extensive canton in the south-east, bordering on Italy and the Tyrol. The district is altogether mountainous and pastoral, though nowhere rising to that extraordinary elevation which is attained by the more westerly chains. Mount Splugen, however, almost rivals the rugged horrors of the valley of Schellenen. The people are rather a peculiar race, composed in a great measure of the descendants of the ancient Rætians, who speak singular dialects, called Roman and Latin; being compounded of the Latin with that of the original native tribes. The Grisons have an interior government entirely popular, divided into twenty-six jurisdictions, each of which is a little republic in itself: the towns are small, situated along the course of the Rhine. Coire or Chur, the capital of the canton, and the original seat of the League of God's House, is an ancient episcopal city, still containing some Roman monuments, and a cathedral of the eighth century. Dissentis and Truns, at which latter the Grey League was signed, are only agreeable and picturesque villages.

The new canton of Tesino, extending along the Italian border, includes the southern slope of that loftiest range of the Alps by which Italy is separated from Switzerland. It is composed of a succession of about thirty Alpine valleys, among which the chief are Leventin, Riviera, Brenna, and Bellinzona, which, though of great elevation, enjoy, in consequence of their fine southern exposure, a much milder climate, and produce grain on sites more elevated, than can be done on the northern side of the mountains. Their pastures, indeed, are less rich, not being fed by those numerous streams,

which descend from the snow and glaciers of the higher Alps. The whole country, however, and particularly the shores of the great lakes of Maggoire and Lugano, with their ornamented islands, present almost an Elysian aspect. Yet this, the most favoured by nature of all the cantons, is debased by a poverty, an indolence, and a neglect of culture unknown in any other part of Switzerland. The meanest races in German Switzerland are superior to those of this district; it has even been said that not a hog exists there which would content itself with the habitations in which the peasantry reside. The people are in fact of Italian origin, and never enjoyed that independence which is the genuine birthright of the Swiss peasant. Lugano, on the lake of the same name, is the largest town in the canton, and has a considerable number of churches and convents. The Lake of Lugano is broken into several gulfs, all of which display the most picturesque and enchanting scenes. It abounds remarkably in fish, of which twenty to thirty thousand quintals are sent weekly to Milan. This territory has given birth to many eminent architects. The northern head of the Lake of Como is enclosed by some of the rudest mountains of the Grisons, where the scene passes gradually into the rich and ornamented plain of Lombardy. Meantime the dignity of capital of the canton is given to Bellinzone; a pleasant small town, commanding the Val d'Airolo, and consequently the passage over the St. Gothard.

### Prussia.

THE kingdom of Prussia, which at the beginning of the last century had neither name nor place among the states of Europe, has by rapid advances become one of the most powerful monarchies. The basis was formed by the territory of Brandenburg, the ruler of which ranked as elector, and was one of the chief of the second-rate princes of the empire. About the beginning of the seventeenth century, the elector

acquired the Grand Duchy of Prussia, a territory held for some time by the knights of the Teutonic order, who being unsuccessful against the Turks in Palestine, turned their efforts to the conversion and conquest of the northern borders of Europe. The united state, however, did not make any great figure till the middle of the seventeenth century, when Frederick I. not only assumed the title of king, but spent his life in forming an army, and raising its discipline to the highest pitch. This army devolved on his son, the great Frederick, whose daring and enterprising spirit was not long of employing it in the extension of the monarchy. From the house of Austria he wrested Silesia, one of the finest of its provinces. By the partition of Poland, an iniquitous proceeding, in which he seconded Catherine, he not only extended, but connected together, many of his scattered possessions. In 1806, the battle of Jena seemed to have for ever prostrated the monarchy; but the disastrous campaign of the French in Russia, and subsequently the patriotic and universal rising of the people, completely expelled the usurping power, and not only re-established the kingdom in its ancient rights and possessions, but acquired several new provinces.

The parts of the Prussian monarchy are so various and detached, that it is difficult to connect them under any general view. In Germany, she has the entire territory of Brandenburg, by far the greatest part of Silesia, and Pomerania, of which Sweden is now entirely stripped. Her Saxon possessions consist of Magdeburg, Merseburg, and Erfurt. In Westphalia, she has Minden, Münster, and Arensburg; on the Rhine, Düsseldorf, Cologne, Clèves, Coblenz, and Trier. East of Germany, she has the duchies of East and West Prussia, from which she takes her name. In Switzerland, she has the principality of Neuchâtel; and in Poland that of Posen. The two Prussias, with Posen and the eastern German provinces, form nearly a connected territory, which comprises the main body of the monarchy. The Westphalia and

Rhenish provinces form a detached western portion, separated from the rest by Hanover, Hesse, and Saxony.

The total area of Prussia is 108,214 square miles, and its population 16,100,000 persons. The surface of the eastern portion of the country is generally level, while that of the western is mountainous. The chief mountain range is the Reisengbirge; the others are the Hartz, with the Brocken, the Thuringerwald, the Westerwald Hunsrücken, Eifel, and Seven Hills. The soil is highly diversified. Corn, wine, timber, and cattle are raised in quantities more than sufficient for home consumption. The manufactures are both numerous and important, especially those of cloth, cotton goods, linens, silks, velvets, and articles of iron and steel. The inland trade is extensive, but the foreign commerce is quite limited.

Two-thirds of the population are Evangelicals, the remainder being made up of Jews, Catholics, Moravians, and members of the Greek church. No country in the world has superior means for education. The universities, academies, and literary institutions in general are famous, while every child of a certain age is compelled to attend a school for a fixed period. Few persons can be found who cannot read and write. In 1843, the primary schools were frequented by 2,328,146 children, and the higher schools were attended in proportion.

The government, since the revolutionary period of 1848, has been a limited constitutional monarchy. But the power of the king is sufficient to control the domestic and foreign policy at all times. The assembly has the shadow rather than the substance of independent deliberation. Office-holders, under the king, rule all legislation. The destruction of the extensive executive patronage can alone secure free legislation to Prussia.

The regular army of Prussia, on a plain footing, comprises 122,897 men. But this can be increased by the militia to about 553,000 men. The large military force is the principal cause of the very heavy taxation under which Prussia groans.



Polish Jews of Posen.

This great state has quite an extensive line of coast upon the Baltic, but has never sought to equip a navy.

Prussia is divided into eight provinces, each of which is subdivided into governmental districts, and the latter are again divided into circles.

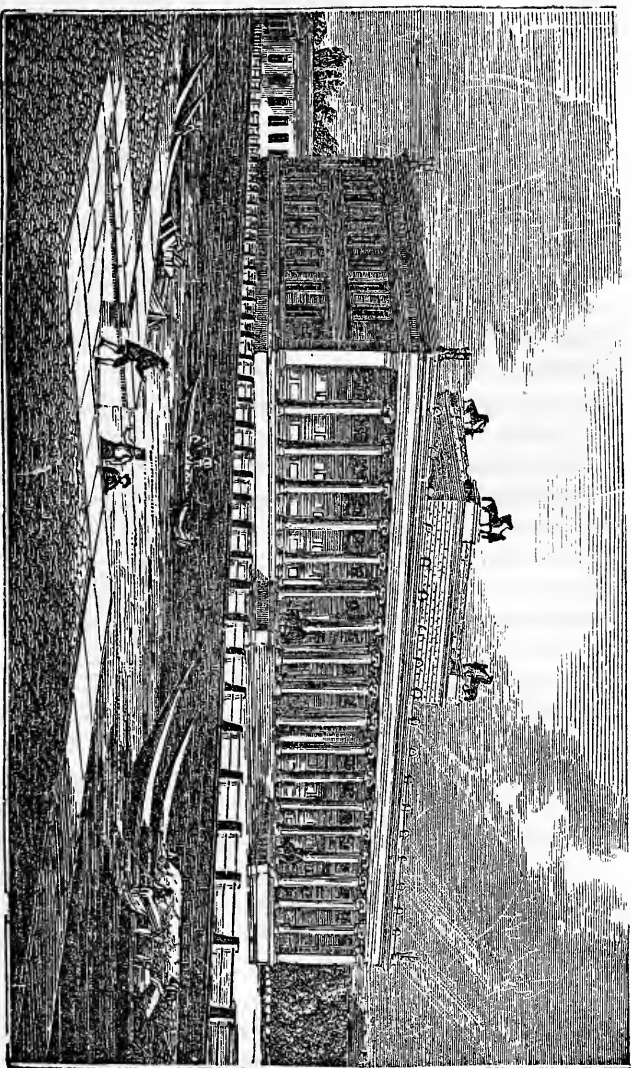
The provinces are Brandenburg, Pomerania, Silesia, Saxony, Westphalia, the Rhenish Province, the Province of Prussia, and Posen.

Brandenburg forms a great mass of territory in the eastern part of the north of Germany, bordering on Poland. It is usually called the Mark of Brandenburg, and comprises the cities of Berlin, Frankfort, and Potsdam: it is neither the most fertile nor the most beautiful part of this great country. It consists of a vast plain of sand, in some places presenting a dead level, in others blown into hills of little elevation. The grain, though carefully cultivated, is not sufficient for internal

supply, but is of excellent quality. Tobacco and flax are cultivated with success. The breed of horses and oxen has been improved; but the pastures are not sufficiently rich for them. Sheep are bred in great numbers on the sand-hills; and their wool, improved by the mixture of the merino, ranks next to that of Silesia. The woods cover a fourth part of the surface, but are chiefly furs and pines, affording excellent masts, with some good oak forests. The manufactures, few of which originally belonged to the district, having been patronized with great zeal by the government, have considerably increased. That of woollens is the most extensive; the next in importance are linens and silk: porcelain and other ornamental fabrics are carried on at Berlin. The inland trade is very considerable, being favoured by the great rivers which pass through the province. The Elbe, indeed, only touches its western border; but its great tributaries, the Elster and the Spree, cross all Brandenburg; and the Oder runs through it from the north. The navigation of these rivers is greatly aided by the canals that unite them.

Berlin, the capital of Brandenburg, and of the Prussian monarchy, is one of the finest cities in Europe; being the studied creation of an absolute monarch, it has been formed upon a regular plan, and on a liberal scale of expenditure. The Brandenburg gate is considered the most simple and majestic portal in Europe. The streets and squares are broad, spacious, and regular. The Spree, which divides Berlin, has only the appearance of a broad ditch, navigated by flat-bottomed boats. On the opposite side is the old town, a scene of traffic, with little pretension to beauty. The population, which, in March, 1848, numbered 420,000, has since decreased, it is calculated, about 100,000, in consequence of emigration. Out of every hundred, fifteen were military. Berlin is a busy city, carrying on various manufactures of woollen, linen, and particularly silk, with a royal manufactory of porcelain, the products of which have been preferred by some to those of Dresden. There are numerous makers of surgical and mathematical instruments. The trade



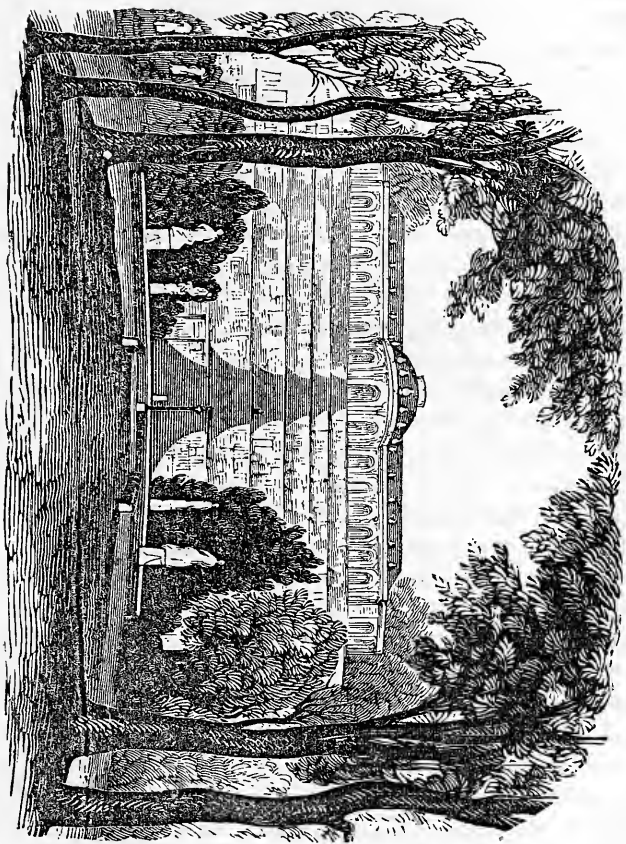


Royal Museum, Berlin.

of Berlin is also extensive, as it communicates by the Spree, and its canals, both with the Elbe and the Oder. An university has been founded, and ranks as one of the first in Germany. This capital has also royal academies of science and the fine arts; a splendid public library; cabinets of natural history; a botanic garden, containing twelve thousand exotic plants; and a royal museum, containing many fine works of art. The revolutions of 1848 were disastrous for Berlin, seriously affecting its prosperity.

The other towns of Brandenburg are not of first-rate importance. Potsdam, designed by Frederick the Great as a military residence, is regularly and very handsomely built; containing forty thousand inhabitants. On every side are seen stiff figures of recruits moving slowly to the marching step, under smart and severe instructors. Frederick's palace of Sans Souci is remarkable for the extreme simplicity of those apartments which were occupied by himself: it contains one of the finest picture-galleries in Germany. Frankfurt on the Oder cannot challenge a comparison with its namesake on the Mayn: it is still a considerable town of thirty thousand inhabitants, with a strong bridge over the Oder, which is here a broad and spacious stream. It has some manufactures, and a considerable trade, holding five yearly markets, much frequented by the Russians and Poles. Brandenburg, the old capital, is still a city of 16,600 inhabitants. Kustrin and Spandau are fortified towns, the former of great strength.

Pomerania is a long line of narrow, sandy coast, lying along the Baltic. The Oder here enters that sea, forming at its mouth a large and winding haff, or bay, on the opposite side of which are the large islands of Usedom and Wollin. It is divided into the governments of Stettin, Stralsund, and Koslin. The soil is in many parts far from productive; yet in others, especially that which formerly belonged to Sweden, it is made by industry to yield harvests of grain more than sufficient for the interior supply. There are few manufactures; but the commodities of Brandenburg and Silesia are



Sans Souci, Palace of Frederick the Great, at Potsdam.

brought down the Oder, and exported from Stettin, Stralsund, and other ports. Stettin, the capital, is not only one of the strongest fortresses, but one of the most flourishing commercial cities in the monarchy, containing a population of forty-five thousand, including the military. Stralsund, the former capital of Swedish Pomerania, lies in a wide, flat territory, separated by a narrow channel from the great island of Rugen, and so enclosed by bays and lakes that it can communicate with the continent only by bridges. It ranked as one of the most celebrated fortresses in Europe, and bade defiance to the utmost efforts of Wallenstein; but the walls are now suffered to go to ruin, and the ramparts are used only as a promenade. Population, eighteen thousand. Anklam, Stolpe, Wollin, Stargard, and Koslin, are also ports and towns deserving of mention.

Silesia is an extensive, oblong tract between Bohemia and Poland. It was originally a Polish province; but German settlers have now occupied the greater part of it, and introduced industry and prosperity. From its fertility, and the industry of its inhabitants, it is considered the brightest jewel in the Prussian crown. The first exploit of Frederick the Great was to seize possession of Silesia: the main object of all the wars waged against him by Maria Theresa was to recover this territory; the final annexation of which to Prussia raised her to the rank of one of the great powers. The Oder, rising on its southern border, divides it into two nearly equal parts, of which the western is mountainous or hilly: its population is altogether German, and it is the seat of the principal manufactures; while the eastern consists, in a great measure, of flat and sandy plains, and is partly occupied by Slavonic races. Silesia contains 15,600 square miles, and is divided into the governments of Breslau, Oppeln, and Lignitz. So great is the population, that it is only in favourable years that the produce of grain suffices for the consumption of the people. Flax is cultivated in a very great quantity; yet still not sufficient for the immense manufacture of which it is the material. Hops, tobacco, and madder are also con-



Silesians.

siderable productions. The live stock that is reared is not adequate to the wants of the country, with the exception of sheep; wool has been brought to such perfection as to be an extensive object of export, in a great measure superseding the Spanish in the market of Britain. Silesia is, perhaps, the most manufacturing country in all Germany; its linens in particular, are considered the best in the world for pliancy, brilliant whiteness, and durability. About half of the inhabitants are employed in spinning. Yarn is exported; and a great quantity of Bohemian cloth is brought hither to be bleached. The seat of the manufacture is chiefly in the mountainous district, where the numerous streams and the purity of the water are highly favourable to its various processes. The trade of Silesia consists in the exportation of its manufactures, chiefly by the ports of Hamburgh and Stettin, and in the importation of grain and cattle from Poland and Moldavia; of wine from Austria; and of India goods, silk, and cotton, by way of Hamburgh.

The towns of Silesia are large, close-built and well forti-

fied. Breslau, the capital, on the Oder, had in 1847, 112,800 inhabitants. It has extensive trade and manufactures, and numerous literary institutions of note. The people are as busy, intelligent, and prosperous as any in Prussia.

Prussian Saxony forms a large extent of straggling territory, consisting of portions severed at various times and in various ways from all the neighbouring states, great and small, sometimes having fragments enclosed within them, and sometimes enclosing within itself fragments of them. Generally speaking, it may be viewed as nearly a square territory extending on both sides of the Elbe, between Royal Saxony, Brandenburg, and Hanover. It is divided into the governments of Magdeburg, Merseburg, and Erfurt. It belongs generally to the vast, wide, flat plain of northern Germany, though on its western side it borders on the Hartz and the forest of Thuringia. There are considerable sandy and marshy tracts, but upon the whole it is abundantly productive of grain, which is cultivated with particular skill and diligence. Flax and tobacco, with rape and linseed, are also in great plenty. Horses, and horned cattle are kept up merely for the purposes of cultivation, but sheep are in number about 1,500,000, and the Saxon wool ranks with the very best in Europe. The mineral wealth is considerable, especially salt, of which a great vein traverses nearly the whole of this territory. The common manufactures of linen and woollen are generally diffused, without being carried to any remarkable extent. The Elbe, which divides the province into two parts, affords the opportunity of a very active trade. The territory is rated at 9,818 square miles, and its population in 1847 amounted to 1,742,500. The inhabitants are almost entirely German and Protestants, this having been at an early period the grand seat of Luther's reformation.

The towns are not generally very large, but numerous, ancient, well fortified, and celebrated in the history of German warfare. Magdeburg, which may rank as the capital, has always been considered one of the strongest places in Europe; and, for its noble defence against Charles V. and

Tilly, was regarded as the bulwark of the protestant cause. Its works are of immense extent, bounded on most of its circuit by the Elbe, and in the rest by a ditch, not wet, but very broad, and carefully undermined. The horrible sacking of Magdeburg by the imperialists, in 1631, is still vividly remembered there, with execrations on the memory of Count Tilly, by whom it was sanctioned. It is a fine old city; the houses large and massive; it has a spacious market-place, adorned with the statue of Otho the Great, and an irregular but very broad principal street. Once a powerful free city, it now contains 68,500 inhabitants, a number of manufactures, and enjoys a considerable trade up and down in the Elbe. Erfurt, formerly one of the principal cities, and a central mart, in the north of Germany, has now completely yielded the palm to Leipzig; and, instead of sixty thousand, contains only about thirty-two thousand inhabitants. It is still a strong fortress, forming the key between Saxony and Franconia. Wittenberg, formerly a distinguished Saxon capital, where the standard of the Reformation was first reared, is now only a small but strong town. Halle is a large city of thirty-two thousand inhabitants, with one of the most flourishing and crowded universities of Germany, and enriched by extensive salt-works in its neighbourhood. Halberstadt is also a large open old town, of eighteen thousand inhabitants. Quedlinburg was once distinguished for the unbounded wealth of its nunnery, the abbess of which had the principal seat and vote on the bench of prelates; but since 1696 its wealth and privileges have been vastly curtailed. Mulhausen, Merseburg, Weissenfels, Naumburg, Torgau, Stendhal, Salzwedel, are also considerable towns. Lutzen is only a village, but its site is distinguished by the victory and fall of Gustavus Adolphus, the great protestant hero.

Prussian Westphalia is also an aggregate of a number of small detached parts; but by cessions and arrondissements it has been formed into a pretty compact territory, situated between Hanover and Holland, and extending from the Weser nearly to the Rhine. It extends to 8272 square miles. The

Lippe divides it into two parts; the northern belongs to the great plain, which is sandy and marshy, but affords some good corn land; the southern is covered with ranges of little rocky hills branching from the Hartz, which render the soil often unfit for the plough, but it is always covered with fine wood. The staple to which Westphalia owes its celebrity consists in its hogs, which surpass those of all the other provinces, producing the hams so much famed throughout Europe. The valuable minerals of iron, coal, and salt, are also very abundant. There are extensive manufactures of coarse linen, and a few which produce that of finer quality. Upward of twenty thousand looms were at work in 1816. The trade of the province consists in sending these productions down the rivers to Bremen and Holland; but Prussian Westphalia at no point reaches the sea, or even extends to the Rhine.

The chief towns of Prussian Westphalia are the capitals of its three districts, Munster, Minden, and Arensburg. Munster, once the seat of a sovereign bishop, and too well known from the excesses committed by the Anabaptists, during their temporary possession of it, is still a flourishing place, which, between 1802 and 1817, increased its population from 12,797 to 18,218. The peace of Munster, in 1648, forms one of the great eras of European history. Minden, celebrated for the signal victory achieved by the British arms in 1759, lies on the Weser, and carries on a considerable trade. A beautiful landscape is here formed by the river, its numerous little tributaries, and a range of wooded mountains, between which the Weser opens the passage called *Porta Westphalica*. Arensburg, once the seat of a count of that name, and Paderborn, the see of a bishop, were distinguished places in the Middle Ages, but have greatly declined. There is also a surprising number of little towns: Rucklinghausen, Kosfeld, Steinfurt, Herforden, Brakel, Wasburg, Lippstadt, Sost, Hamm, Dortmund, Hagen, Iserlon, Altona, and Siegen.

The Rhenish provinces of Prussia consist of two parts; one bearing the compound appellation of Julich-Cleve-Berg, and



the other that of the Lower Rhine. Julich-Cleve-Berg consists of the three grand duchies of those names, incorporated with the city and part of the bishopric of Cologne, the Prussian part of Guelderland, the abbacies of Essen and Werden, and a few other small places. It occupies almost ninety miles of the course of the Rhine, extending on both sides of that river. Of all the Prussian territories it is the least favoured by nature. On the eastern bank extends a continuous range of mountains, including the remarkable group called the Siebengebirge, or Seven Hills; not, indeed, exceeding the height of two thousand feet, but naked and rugged. The opposite bank is, indeed, level, but consists almost entirely of sandy plains and wide morasses: the country, therefore, does not produce corn sufficient for its own consumption, nor any thing in abundance except flax. Under these natural disadvantages, however, the inhabitants exert a manufacturing industry beyond what is found in any other part of Prussia, or even of Germany. The grand duchy of Berg has been called England in miniature, such is the variety of fabrics carried on there. Cloth, metals, and tobacco are worked up in almost every shape. The consequence is, that this district, so little favoured by nature, is the most populous, in relation to its extent, of any that belongs to Prussia. It carries on a considerable trade along the Rhine and its navigable tributaries, the Ruhr and the Lippe; the Meuse also runs along its western border. The hills, particularly the Siebengebirge, present many peculiarly bold and picturesque sites, as they rear their heads above the river, crowned with ancient castles. Some fine cities adorn the territory. Cologne is one of the most ancient in Germany, and till 1797, was an imperial city, and the seat of a bishop, who was once an elector. It contains above ninety-five thousand inhabitants, and is the seat of a great trade, being the chief medium of intercourse between Germany and Holland. There is a great exchange of wine and other productions brought down the Rhine for colonial and manufactured goods. The liquor called Cologne water is celebrated.

Dusseldorf, long an electoral residence, is one of the prettiest cities in Germany, though its walls serve only for a promenade, and its splendid collection of pictures has been conveyed to Munich. Its spacious squares, its handsome houses, arranged in regular streets, and the fine gardens which surround the city, constitute its attractions. It has also a good deal of trade. Population, twenty-eight thousand. Cleves, a much smaller town, is situated two miles from the Rhine, with which it communicates by canal. The late palace of the grand duke is still surrounded by extensive gardens, which are open to the public. Bonn, a well-built imperial city, of eighteen thousand inhabitants, has a strong castle, now in a great measure neglected. Elberfeld and Krefeld are large and flourishing places. Its chief seats of manufacture, Rees, Solingen, Muhlheim, Reuss, Lennep, are also deserving of mention.

The province of the Lower Rhine occupies a considerably greater extent of the course of the river higher up, than that last described. The principal part of it belonged formerly to the archbishopric of Trèves, which, with various little states and cities, has now merged into the Prussian dominion. The Rhine flows through the middle of this tract, receiving on one side the Moselle, and on the other the Lahn and the Leig. The province is almost wholly mountainous, the principal chains in the west being the Hundsruick, a rocky calcareous group, widely extended, but not more than fifteen hundred feet high, and from whose sides vast woods overhang the Moselle. The tract of Ardennes also touches the extreme frontier; and on the east, the principal chains belong to the Wasgau. The banks of the rivers are generally planted with vines, and present the most beautiful and pleasing sites that are to be found in any part of Germany. The soil and climate are very various; but though many tracts are doomed to inevitable sterility, a very great part is under careful cultivation. Rye and oats are the chief grains; but the most characteristic objects are the wines of the Rhine, particularly those of Hockheim, (denominated Old Hock,) and those of

the Moselle and Ahr: they are celebrated over Europe, and from twenty to thirty thousand acres are occupied in producing them. As a manufacturing district, the present by no means rivals that above described; yet there is in Aachen a very extensive fabric of cloths, some of which are exported. These cloths, with wine and wood, form the basis of a considerable trade, independent of the passage of vessels up and down the Rhine. Coblentz, at the junction of the Rhine and the Moselle, is the capital of the Prussian province of Lower Rhine, situated at the confluence of the Rhine and Moselle. It is a very ancient city, once the frequent residence of the emperors of the Carlovingian dynasty, and afterward of the princes of Trèves. It contains, therefore, many fine old edifices, both public and private. During the French revolution it was for some time the residence of the exiled court, and the asylum of the emigrant nobility. The situation is delightful, and it is a considerable depot for the Rhenish and Moselle wines brought down for embarkation. On the opposite side of the river is Ehrenbreitstein, a small town, on a rock above which stood one of the strongest fortresses in Europe: it was demolished in 1801.

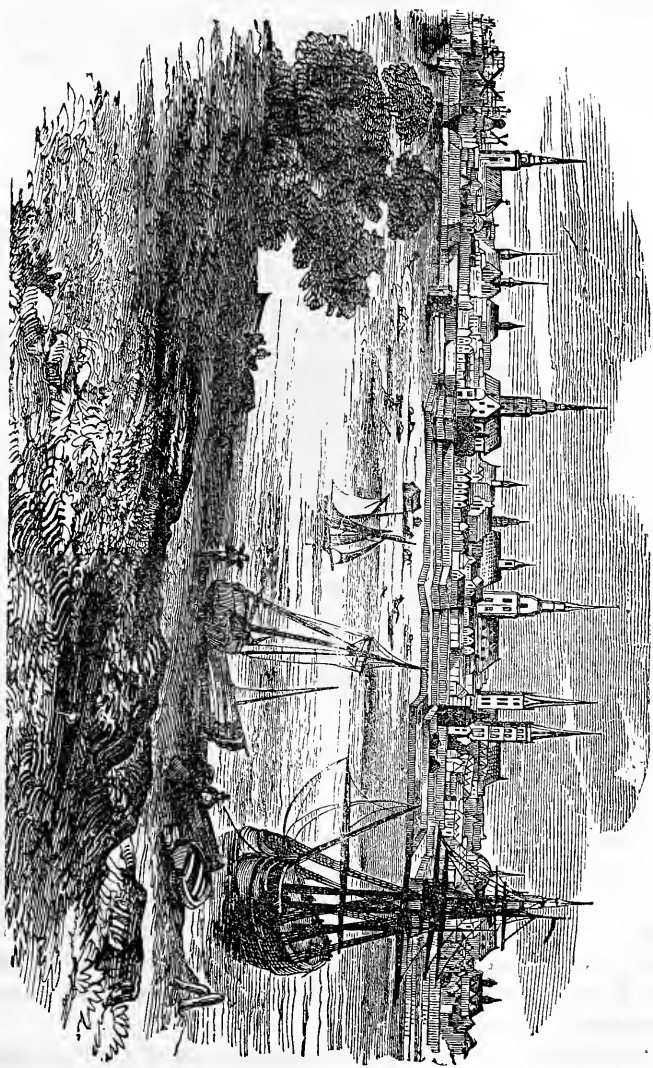
Of the other towns, Trèves is considered one of the most ancient either in France or Germany, being noticed by the Romans under the appellation *Trevirorum Civitas*. The inhabitants have even a boastful proverb, that "before Rome was, Treveri stood." It was a great city in the Middle Ages, and contains many superb churches and convents as monuments of its former grandeur; but many of them are now empty, and going to ruin. The place has twenty thousand inhabitants, and a considerable trade with France, and in the wine and wood of the Moselle. Aachen, better known as Aix la Chapelle, is the largest town of the territory, containing a population of forty-nine thousand, chiefly employed in manufactures. The city is also very ancient, having been a residence of the emperors, and the place of their coronation. Being built, however, on an irregular spot of ground, its streets are extremely uneven, narrow, and dirty. Kreuze-

nach and Saarbruck are also considerable towns, and Saarlouis is a strong fortress. St. Goar and Bacharach are only villages; but a great quantity of the finest Rhenish wine is brought down to them.

## Germany.

GERMANY comprises that vast tract of country situated in the centre of Europe, between  $55^{\circ}$  and  $45^{\circ}$  north latitude, and between  $5^{\circ} 45'$  and  $19^{\circ} 45'$  east from Greenwich; bounded on the north by the North and Baltic seas and Denmark. The total area of Germany is 244,375 square miles. The surface is divided into two plains and two mountainous regions. The low plain of northern Germany is naturally sterile, but abundant rains and the industry of its inhabitants make it sufficiently productive to support a dense population. The country is intersected with sixty navigable rivers. Canals are not numerous. Communication by railroad and river is very common throughout Germany.

The chief of the natural productions of Germany are the following: corn, which is raised in quantities sufficient for home consumption and for exportation; wine, which is produced chiefly in the Rhenish counties; timber, fruits, flax, hops, hemp, horses, cattle, hogs, sheep, fowls, bees, silver, iron, copper, quicksilver, lead, and salt. The manufactures are various and important, including linen, cotton, and woollen goods; silks, velvet, hardware, cutlery, fire-arms, porcelain, glass, musical instruments, watches, and jewelry, and innumerable articles of inferior importance. In commerce, Germany engages extensively. The chief ports are Hamburg, Bremen, Trieste, Altona, Lubeck, Stetlin, Stralsund, Rostock, Wismar, Riel, and Curden. The inland trade is very active and valuable. Vienna, Leipsic, Cologne, Olberfeld, Magdeburg, Berlin, Breslau, Prague, Augsburg, Frankfort on the Mayn, Frankfort on the Oder, Labode and Botzen are the chief cities engaged in carrying it on.



Hamburg.



Germans.

The population of Germany is calculated to be 42,000,000 inhabitants. The majority belong to the great Germanic tribe, while about six or seven millions to the Slavonic tribe. There is a general national character, which may be drawn as follows:—The peculiar turn of the Germans seems to be for philosophy; they are distinguished from all the nations of Europe for cool and generally a just judgment, united with extreme industry.

The character of men depends much on the government under which they live. That of the Germans has in general as little brilliancy in it as the constitution of the empire:

they have none of the national pride and patriotism by which Britons and Spaniards are distinguished. Their pride and patriotic sentiments only extend to that part of Germany in which they are born; to the rest of their countrymen they are as strange as to any foreigners.

Though the character of the Germans be not so brilliant as that of other nations, still it is not destitute of its peculiar excellencies. The German is the man of the world; he lives under every sky, and conquers every natural obstacle to his happiness; his industry is inexhaustible. Poland, Hungary, and Russia, are indebted to German emigrants. Rectitude is an almost universal characteristic of the people of this country; nor are the manners of the peasants, and those of the inhabitants of the lesser cities, by any means so corrupt as those of several neighbouring countries; it is owing to this, that, notwithstanding the great emigrations, the country is still so well peopled. Frugality on the side of the protestants, and frankness and good heartedness on the side of the catholics, are true national characteristics.

The Germans are tall and well made; the women are, in general, well looking, and many of them will rival the beauties of other countries. Both sexes affect to dress in rich clothes, according to the fashions of England or France. Many of the principal people wear a great deal of gold and silver lace; the ladies at court do not differ much in their dress from those of the same rank in England. In some of the courts they appear in furs, richly covered with as many diamonds as they can procure. The inhabitants of several cities in Germany dress extremely odd, though their appearance has much improved within these twenty or thirty years; but the artizans and labourers, as in other parts of Europe, wear those sort of clothes that are best adapted to their several employments, convenience, or circumstances.

Industry and application are the most considerable traits of the German character. The works which they produce, in watch and clock-making, in the arts of turning, sculpture, painting, and architecture, are very wonderful. No nation

makes greater festivals in honour of marriages, funerals, and births. The amusements of the Germans very much resemble those of the French and English; to these, however, they add the chase of the wild boar, which they prefer to all other sports; they have also bull and bear-baiting. In the winter, when the different branches of the Danube are frozen, and the earth is covered with snow, the ladies amuse themselves in sledges of different forms, resembling tigers, swans, shells, &c. The lady is seated, in a habit of velvet, lined with rich furs, and ornamented with lace and diamonds, having also a bonnet of the same sort. The sledge is fastened to a horse, stag, or other animal, which is ornamented with feathers, ribbons, and a multitude of little bells.

“O’er crackling ice, o’er gulphs profound,  
With nimble glide the skaters play;  
O’er treach’rous pleasure’s flow’ry ground  
Thus lightly skim, and haste away.”

As this diversion generally takes place at night, servants go before the sledges on horseback, with lighted torches; another guides the horse in the sledge from behind.

The most liberal hospitality and disinterestedness mark the character of the Germans. They make an immoderate use of coffee, but they drink it very weak. Their diet consists chiefly of ham, smoked meats, black bread, potatoes, red cabbage, beer, and cheese. They endure, with patience and fortitude, hunger and cold, but they cannot support thirst and heat; brandy and beer are more important to them than solid food. They almost all chew tobacco.

The condition of the lower classes of women is very miserable; it differs but little from slavery; the most laborious parts of sowing and gathering in the harvest, and of the other departments of rural economy, fall to their share. Habit, the example of their mothers, the knowledge of all their dependence, so far restrain them that they never murmur under the heavy tyranny of the stronger sex.

Knowledge is more generally diffused in Germany than in any other country. The children of the poor enjoy the bene-



fits of instruction, free of expense; while there is a regular system of education from the primary school to the university. The literary institutions of Germany are numerous and celebrated. There are twenty-three universities, all of which bear so high a reputation that they attract many students from other countries. The public libraries are numerous, large, and very valuable. Munich, Vienna, Berlin, Dresden, and Göttingen may be considered as central points of the arts and sciences.

In religion, catholicism has the most numerous adherents in southern Germany, and protestantism in the northern. There are about four millions more catholics than protestants. The latter generally belong to the evangelical denomination. There are about 50,000 Jews in Germany.

Germany is still a confederacy, though the great powers pay but little regard to the wishes of the majority of the smaller states. The Germanic confederacy was established by an act of the Congress of Vienna on the 8th of June, 1815, thirty-eight independent states being recognised as its component parts, and the Diet of Frankfort on the Mayn being regarded as its organ.

Bavaria ranks as the most important and powerful of the smaller states of Germany. She was once the successful rival of Austria, and beheld her princes seated on the imperial throne. Napoleon invested her sovereign with the title of king, and augmented his dominions. The king afterward joined the allies against the emperor, and though he lost some of his territories he received others in compensation. Bavaria now forms the middle part of southern Germany, separated from Italy by the Tyrol, and consists of two distinct territories, situated about forty miles apart, the smallest being on the left bank of the Rhine. The total area of the kingdom is 29,703 square miles.

The inhabitants of Bavaria number 4,450,000, more than three millions of whom are Roman Catholics; the remainder are chiefly protestants and Jews. Agriculture is the chief occupation. But numerous breweries, which produce the famous



Bavarians.

Bavarian beer, and factories, mines, and an extensive inland trade, give employment to a great body of people.

The Bavarian, in general, is stout-bodied, muscular, and fleshy; with a round head, a little peaked chin, a larger belly, and a pale complexion. Many of them look like caricatures of men; they are heavy and awkward in their carriage, and their small eyes are said to betray a great deal of roguery. The women are very handsome, their skin surpasses all the carnation ever used by painters; the purest lily white is softly tinged with purple, as if by the hands of the Graces. The complexions of some of the peasant women appear to be quite transparent. They are well shaped, and more lively and graceful in their gestures than the men.

The country people are extremely dirty; their hovels have no appearance of habitable dwellings for human beings.

Cheap as nails are in this country, and although half the roofs are frequently torn away by strong winds, yet the rich farmers cannot be persuaded to nail their shingles properly together. In short, from the court to the smallest cottage, indolence is the most predominant part of the Bavarian character.

This great indolence is contrasted in an extraordinary manner with a still higher degree of bigotry. "I happened," says the Baron Reisback, "to stroll into a dark, black, country beer-house, filled with clouds of tobacco, and on entering I was almost stunned with the noise of the drinkers. By degrees, however, my eyes penetrated through the thick vapours, when I discovered the priest of the place in the midst of fifteen or twenty drunken fellows. His black coat was as bad as the frocks of his flock, and like the rest of them he had cards in his left hand, which he struck so forcibly on the dirty tables, that the whole chamber trembled. At first, I was shocked at the violent abuse they gave each other, and thought they had been quarrelling, but soon found that the appellations which shocked me were only modes of friendly salutation among them. Every one had drunk his six or eight pots of beer, and they desired the landlord to give each a dram of brandy, by way, they said, of locking the stomach. But now their good humour departed, and preparations were made for a fray which at length broke out. At first the priest took pains to suppress it; he swore, he roared as much as the rest. Now one seized a pot and threw it at his adversary's head; another clenched his fist; a third pulled the legs from a stool to knock his enemy on the head; every thing seemed to threaten blood and death, when on the ringing of a bell for evening prayer, '*Ave Maria ye!*' cried the priest, and down dropped their arms, they pulled off their bonnets, folded their hands, and repeated their *Ave Marias*. As soon, however, as their prayers were over, their former fury returned with renewed violence; pots and glasses began to fly. I observed the curate creep under the table for security, and I withdrew into the landlord's bedchamber."

The three universities, at Munich, at Warsburg, and at Erlangen, twenty-six gymnasia, nine lycea, nine seminaries, nine Latin schools, and five thousand four hundred and two common schools, make ample provision for the education of the people.

The government is a limited monarchy, the power of the king being checked by two legislative chambers. The court patronage, however, is so extensive that the deliberations of the legislature can scarcely be considered as independent. The liberal use of eight orders of honour secures the king a very extensive authority. Munich, the capital of Bavaria, is considered one of the finest cities in Germany. It contains numerous splendid public buildings. The manners of the inhabitants of Munich are such as might be expected from the great number of people who depend upon the court, and for the most part go idle at its expense. There is much spirit and intelligence, as well as much looseness of conduct, among the upper circles, while the lower are poor, indolent, and degraded.

The kingdom of Wurtemberg occupies the greater part of the circle of Swabia, being bounded on the east by Bavaria, and on the west by Baden, and having an area of 7551 square miles. Its territory is traversed by a range of mountains, two rivers—the Neckar and the Upper Danube—and partly by the Black Forest. There are within its limits, 1,840,392 acres of arable land, 620,480 pasture land, 79,200 of vineyard, and 1,735,466 of woodland. Agriculture, manufactures, and trade are all extensively and very profitably pursued. Grain is the chief export. Cotton and woollen stuffs, and cutlery are the chief manufactures.

The government is a limited monarchy, the sovereign power being vested in a king and two legislative chambers. Wurtemberg has always been noted for its liberal institutions. The sovereign has frequently opposed the arbitrary designs of Austria. Still, the government has many objectionable features in common with the other German states.

Wurtemberg has one university; and its schools and semi-



Inhabitants of Baden.

naries are said, by Hassel, to be more numerous than in any other country of the same dimensions.

The population numbers 1,750,000 persons. The majority of them are Lutherans. But there are over 500,000 Catholics and 12,000 Jews. The people, generally, are industrious and intelligent. Those engaged in agriculture are well provided, and contented. Those engaged in manufactures in the towns are not so happy or prosperous. On a war footing, the regular army of Wurtemberg consists of over twenty thousand men.

The kingdom is divided into four circles marked by natural boundaries. Stutgard, the capital, contains some handsome edifices, and 46,000 thousand inhabitants.

The grand duchy of Baden consists of the long valley of the Rhine, from Basle to Mannheim, sloping on all sides from the Black Forest, having a surface of nearly six thousand square miles. The soil in the lower and smaller valleys is

very fertile, and the richest pasture covers the sides of the hills. Grain is produced in abundance, and is exported. The vineyards are extensive and enjoy a high reputation. The Black Forest is filled with the noblest game. The manufactures of this teeming country are not very extensive, but they are important, and employ about thirty thousand people. The transit trade is very valuable. Baden enjoys besides a steady, regular trade, Manheim being the chief emporium. The duchy is divided into four provinces, or circles. The population amounts to 1,390,000 persons. The majority of the people are of the catholic persuasion, but the protestants form a very strong and influential body. The Jews number about twenty-two thousand. Knowledge is generally diffused, there being two universities, six lycea, five gymnasia, one thousand nine hundred and sixty-five common schools, and sixty-five schools of various distinctions.

The government is a limited monarchy, like that of Wurtemberg—the only difference being in the title of the sovereign, which in Baden is “the grand duke.” On a war footing, the regular army consists of ten thousand four hundred and twenty-three men. Carlsruhe, the capital of Baden, has twenty-five thousand inhabitants.

The once extensive kingdom of Saxony is now reduced to an insignificant state, having a territory five thousand seven hundred and ninety-three square miles in area, and a population of 1,800,000 inhabitants. The territory consists of the plain of the Elbe, extending along its course for a hundred miles from the rocky Erzgebirge. The central plain, being well watered, and highly cultivated, is, perhaps the most productive portion of Germany; yet it cannot supply the dense mining and manufacturing population with the necessaries of life. The forests are extensive. The numerous mines are worked with a skill and diligence unequalled in any other portion of Europe. But three-fifths of the people are employed in manufactures. The staples of linen and woollen are considerable, but it is in cottons that this district excels all the rest of Germany. The commerce of Saxony is very

extensive, not only in its own productions, but, as it contains the great mart, Leipsic, in the productions of all Germany.

Lutheranism is general in Saxony, where it was first established. It is computed that the catholics number only thirty thousand, though the king himself is of that persuasion, and has obtained complete equality for those of his own creed. The means of education are not equal to those common in Germany. There is a university at Leipsic. But, though numerous, the schools are said to be poorly managed. However, the people are generally intelligent.

The government is a limited monarchy, like that of Wirtemberg. The kingdom is divided into circles or provinces, for the sake of a more complete administration. Dresden is generally considered one of the most elegant of the German cities. Its situation is romantic and beautiful. Its public buildings and institutions are on an extensive scale. Population, eighty-six thousand.

The kingdom of Hanover comprises, with some intervals, the whole north-western angle of Germany, from the Elbe to the frontier of Holland. The Hartz mountains, extending about one hundred miles along its southern border, are rich in forests and mines. The rest of the kingdom is generally level, but only fertile along the banks of the rivers, and on the flat coast of the sea, where artificial mounds protect some rich meadows. The country has the Elbe upon the eastern boundary, and is traversed by the navigable streams, the Ems, the Uleser and its tributaries: so that it has great facilities for trade. Agriculture is not pursued with the same diligence as in other parts of Germany. It is true, that in Göttingen, Hildersheim, Grabenhagen, and some of the marshy tracts redeemed from the rivers and the sea, considerable skill is exerted in cultivation. But Luneburg, Hoya, Osnaburg, and other districts, which might be greatly improved, are dreary wastes, the inhabitants preferring to hire themselves to the Dutch. However, grain is raised in sufficient quantities to supply the home demand. With respect to live stock, Hanover is distinguished only for its

hogs, and Westphalia hams are famous all over the globe. The supply of timber is large, and the mines of the Hartz are very valuable. Commerce is chiefly engrossed by the Hanse towns. Emden, in East Friesland, is almost the only part of Hanover which has any foreign trade. The linen manufacture is the only important branch of manufacturing industry.

Since the accession of Victoria to the throne of Great Britain, Hanover has been an independent kingdom. The government is a limited monarchy, the sovereign power being vested in a king and two legislative chambers, from which, however, the mass of the people are excluded. The policy of the government is substantially the same as that of the other German sovereignties. Each of the districts into which Hanover is divided has a distinct local administration.

The facilities for education are numerous and well managed. There is a famous university at Göttingen, and the number of common schools reaches 3570. With such means at command, the people must be possessed of considerable intelligence.

To an area of 14,803 square miles, Hanover has a population of 1,790,000 inhabitants. The people are mostly of the Lutheran persuasion, though there are many Calvinists, about twenty-five thousand Catholics, and a few thousand Jews. Hanover, the capital, has forty thousand inhabitants.

Hesse Cassel, or Electoral Hesse, is a small state situated between the Weser and Mayn rivers, surrounded by Westphalia, Hanover, the Saxon duchies, and Hesse Darmstadt. The area is 4752 square miles. The surface is generally mountainous, and in some places sterile. The chief natural productions are timber, flax, iron, and freestone. The manufactures consist of linen, hardware, woollen goods, etc. The inland trade is considerable. The people enjoy the usual German facilities for education. The government is a limited monarchy, power being vested in the elector and one legislative chamber. Before the reactionary period of 1848, this was the most liberal government in Germany.



The overwhelming power of absolutism struck down this bud of promise. The population numbers seventy-five thousand persons. The majority are Lutherans; but the Calvinists and Catholics are numerous. Cassel, on the Fulda, is the capital, and, with a population of thirty-three thousand, has considerable trade and important manufactures. Honan, Marburg, and Fulda, are the only other towns of importance, though there are many thriving villages.

The grand duchy of Hesse, or Hesse Darmstadt, is composed of two portions, reaching along the Rhine from the Prussian to the Bavarian frontier. It is entirely enclosed by mountains, but includes a plain of remarkable fertility. Wine is the chief production. But tobacco, flax, cattle, copper, iron, and salt are important objects to which the attention of the people are directed. The manufactures consist chiefly of linen and woollen goods. Mentz carries on considerable trade. The means of education are ample. The government is similar to that of the grand duchy of Baden. To an area of 3259 square miles, the duchy of Hesse has 845,000 inhabitants. The great mass of these are engaged in agriculture, and live much in the condition of the German peasantry throughout the confederacy. The majority of the people profess the reformed religion. Darmstadt, the capital, has thirty-one thousand inhabitants. The landgraviate of Hesse, or Hesse Homburg has an area of 128 square miles with about twenty-six thousand inhabitants. It consists of two distinct territories, separated from each other by Nassau and Hesse Darmstadt. The majority of the population consists of Lutherans, and the remainder of six thousand Calvinists and three thousand Catholics. The soil is fertile and well cultivated. Manufactures are not extensively pursued. The government is a limited monarchy. Meisenheim is the principal town.

The grand duchy of Saxe Weimer takes the lead among the smaller states. Its area is 1427 square miles, and its population 254,000 inhabitants. The peasantry are miserably

poor. Weimar, the capital has only twelve thousand inhabitants. It is a place of much literary renown.

Mecklenburg Schwerin is a grand duchy, situated on the Baltic sea, between Pomerania and Holstein, and separated from Hanover by the Elbe. The surface is generally level, and the soil is fertile. All branches of husbandry are, in Mecklenburg, managed with consummate skill. The manufactures are rather limited, but the trade and commerce are extensive. Grain, butter, cattle, horses, timber, and wool are the chief exports. The government is a limited monarchy. The facilities of education are unsurpassed. The area of Mecklenburg Schwerin is 4856 square miles, and its population numbers 515,000 inhabitants. The people are chiefly of the Lutheran persuasion. Schwerin, the capital, on the lake of the same name, has many handsome public edifices, and 17,500 inhabitants. Rostork, on the Warnow, about ten miles from the Baltic, has 20,500 inhabitants, and considerable commerce. Wismar, on the Baltic, sixty-two miles south-west of Roetrop, has about twelve thousand inhabitants and a constantly increasing commerce.

The grand duchy of Mecklenburg Strelitz, situated between Mecklenburg Schwerin and Prussia, has an area of 1107 square miles and ninety-six thousand inhabitants. In soil, productions, government, and institutions, it agrees with Mecklenburg Schwerin.

The duchy of Holstein is the most northern state of Germany, on the west side washed by the North Sea, and on the east by the Baltic. It has an area of 3333 square miles, and about 477,000 inhabitants. A large majority of the people are Lutherans. The surface and soil of the country is much the same as the neighbouring Mecklenburg. Previous to the war with Denmark, in 1848, the duchy was unrivalled in wealth and prosperity. Agriculture was on a high scale of improvement. A beggar was rarely to be found. The Danish administration was able, liberal, and beneficial. But the people were instigated to take up arms; and in the struggle between the forces of Generals Wrangel and Wit-



General Wrangel.

tengen, the beautiful plains of the duchy were wasted, and a once wealthy people were reduced to beggary. It will be a considerable time before Holstein recovers from the devastations of this unhappy war. The fisheries, the commerce, and the manufactures, all formerly important, have been greatly reduced. The government remains a limited monarchy, the sovereign power being vested in the King of Denmark, as Duke of Holstein, and in a provincial assembly. Holstein has a fine university and a large number of common schools. The chief towns are Gluckstadt, a commercial town on the

Elbe, thirty miles below Hamburg, with considerable commerce and a whale fishery, and over six thousand inhabitants; Rendsburg, on the Eider, with ten thousand five hundred inhabitants; Riel, on the bay of the same name, with thirteen thousand inhabitants; and, largest of all, the city of Altona, on the Elbe, noted for its commerce and manufactures, and having thirty-two thousand inhabitants.

The duchy of Lauenburg, which borders on Holstein on the north-west, and on the south is separated from Hanover by the Elbe, has an area of four hundred four and a half square miles, and forty-seven thousand inhabitants. In soil, natural productions, agriculture, &c., it resembles Holstein. Until 1849, Lauenburg recognised the King of Denmark as sovereign, but it now has its separate monarch. Ratzeburg is the capital. The towns are small.

The grand duchy of Oldenburg comprises Oldenburg proper, the principality of Lubeck, and the principality of Birkenfeldt—three distinct territories, which, together, have an area of two thousand four hundred and seventy-one square miles, and two hundred and seventy-four thousand and fifty inhabitants. Oldenburg proper lies on the North Sea, and is surrounded by the kingdom of Hanover. The surface is generally level, and the coast, as well as the banks of the Weser are sheltered with dikes, to preserve them from inundation. The soil is, in general, poor, but there are fertile tracts. Cattle, grain, flax, hemp, rape seed, and bees are raised in considerable quantities. The inland trade is actively carried on. The principality of Lubeck is situated in the neighbourhood of the city of Lubeck, and surrounded by the territories of Holstein. It consists of a well-watered, undulated plain, the inhabitants subsisting almost entirely by the various branches of husbandry.\* Birkenfeldt is situated upon the Rhine, in the vicinity of Trèves. Its surface is mountainous. The inhabitants are chiefly employed in mining, manufacturing, and cultivating the vine. Most of the people of the grand duchy are Lutherans. But the Catholics

\* Ungewitter.

are numerous in Birkenfeldt. The schools and seminaries are numerous. Until the revolutionary period of 1848, the government was an absolute monarchy. It was then limited, but, we believe, the states have not been allowed to operate against the will of the grand duke. Oldenburg, Jeuer, Eutin, and Birkenfeldt are the chief towns.

The duchy of Brunswick lies half-way between the cities of Hanover and Magdeburg, the southern section being enclosed by the territory of Hanover, having an area of one thousand five hundred and thirty-three square miles, with two hundred and seventy thousand inhabitants. The soil is fertile. The chief productions are corn, flax, hops, timber, black cattle, horses, sheep, game, silver, copper, iron, lead, and peat. Trade and manufactures are actively and extensively carried on. The means of education are ample. The government is a limited monarchy. The duchy is divided into the districts of Brunswick, Wolfenbüttel, Helmstedt, Gandersbein, Holzminden, and Blankenburg. Brunswick, the capital, is situated on the Ocker river, and has forty thousand inhabitants, considerable trade, and very important manufactures. Wolfenbüttel was formerly the ducal residence, and is now noted for its large and splendid library, and its manufactures. Population, nine thousand. Blankenburg, at the Lower Hartz, has three thousand five hundred inhabitants. Holzminden is noted for its manufactures.

The grand duchy of Luxemburg forms the southern extremity of Germany, being bounded by the Rhenish province of Prussia and by France and Belgium. It has an area of one thousand and twelve square miles, and one hundred and eighty-eight thousand inhabitants. The soil is fertile and well cultivated. Manufactures are chiefly confined to linen, leather, and paper. The grand duke belongs to the house of Orange Nassau. The people differ very little from the other Germans. Luxemburg, the capital, on the Elbe, has twelve thousand inhabitants.

The duchy of Limburg has an area of eight hundred and fifty-two square miles, with one hundred and ninety-eight

thousand inhabitants. The duchy is usually considered as a Netherlandish province. The inhabitants are for the most part Roman Catholics. Rolrmonde, on the Meuse, has five thousand inhabitants, who are chiefly engaged in the manufacture of cloth.

Branches of the house of Saxony, once the ruling family in northern Germany, hold a cluster of small principalities to the west of Saxony royal. Saxe Coburg Gotha has been formed by the union of these two branches, on the extinction of that of Gotha. It comprehends a great part of the territory of Thuringia, and is rather productive. The city, containing about fourteen thousand inhabitants, is the channel of a considerable trade connected with the fair of Leipsic. It is a somewhat learned city, containing a library of sixty thousand volumes, with valuable manuscripts. Saxe Coburg is a mountainous territory, comprising part of the Thuringian forest. It contains good pasturage, and some valuable mines. This territory has been raised to distinction by the good fortune of one of its younger members, now King of the Belgians. Saxe Meiningen Hildburghausen, on the Werra, is a little tract, enriched by mines of salt at Salzungen, and by some of coal, iron, and cobalt. Its principal towns are Meiningen and Hildburghausen, with about six thousand inhabitants each. The little duchy of Saxe Altenburg consists of two detached portions, separated from each other by the territories of Saxe Weimar and the Reuss princes. The capital, Altenburg, is a considerable town, with about sixteen thousand inhabitants.

Nassau is a dukedom, which, by the union of the territories held by several branches of the same family, has attained to some tolerable magnitude. Situated in the southern part of Franconia, forming a hilly country on the banks of the Rhine and the Mayn, it produces those valuable wines, Old Hock and Bleschert, which distinguish this part of Germany: it does not contain, however, any towns of importance. Weisbaden, the capital, much visited on account of its fifteen warm springs, has a population of thirteen thousand.

At Neiderselters, two million bottles are annually filled with the celebrated Seltzer water. Langenschwalbach and Schlangenbad are equally noted for their mineral springs; and Hockheim, Rudesheim, Johannisberg, and Asmannshausen for their fine wine.

The other principalities are all very small. Anhalt, on the Elbe, between Saxony and Brandenburg, has its population of one hundred and fifty-eight thousand, divided between the three branches of Dessau, Bernburg, and Cothen. The family is ancient, and has produced some men of eminence. Schwartzenburg, a district of Franconia, has one hundred and twenty-eight thousand people, divided between the two branches of Sondershausen and Rudolstadt, both of great antiquity, and deriving more importance from their great estates in Bohemia and other parts of the Austrian territory. Ruess, in Upper Saxony, has one hundred and nine thousand inhabitants, divided between the elder and younger branches. Lippe Detmold and Lippe Schauenburg are situated on the south of Hanover; the one hilly and wooded, the other flat and fertile. A former prince of Lippe Schauenburg made a distinguished figure in the service of Portugal. There are two princes of Hohenzollern, Sigmaringen, and Hechingen, having between them fifty-four thousand five hundred people. They form the only petty states in the south of Germany, being situated in Swabia, between Baden and Wurtemberg. Waldeck Pyrmont, composed of two hilly counties between Hesse and Hanover, derives almost its sole importance from the mineral baths of Pyrmont, which are among the most celebrated in Europe. Though, by the favour of the house of Austria, its possessions have been tripled, they do not exceed those of a rich English squire. Homburg, the capital, is a small town, in a very picturesque situation. The little principality of Leichtenstein, a district in the Saxon Erzgebirge, has only seven thousand inhabitants; but the prince, as an Austrian nobleman, is one of the most opulent individuals in Europe, and his family is distinguished by information and intelligence. The Lilliputian lordship of Kniphau-

sen was recognised as an independent state by an act of the diet, in 1826. It is situated within the territories of the duke of Oldenburg.

The four free cities of Germany, Hamburg, Lubec, Bremen, and Frankfort, form still an interesting feature, necessary to close the picture of this great country. They are the sole remnant of the Hanse towns and imperial cities; illustrious confederacies, which, during the Middle Ages, acted a most conspicuous part in the improvement of the European system. The members of the Congress of Vienna, though little friendly to any thing republican, considered these so fully established, and so venerable by antiquity, that they sanctioned them as a part of the Germanic body.

Hamburg is situated on the right bank of the Elbe, about eighty-four miles from the sea, and its territory partly in the immediate vicinity and partly at the mouth of the Elbe. Including the bailiwick of Bergedorf, of which Hamburg and Lubec are possessed in common, the total area is one hundred and fifty square miles. The population is one hundred and sixty-eight thousand. The government is a republic, the sovereign power being vested in a senate of twenty-eight members, and the council of wealthy citizens. The city contains one hundred and thirty-seven thousand inhabitants. The great body of these are Lutherans. The city is generally known to be the chief port of Germany. It has more than two hundred vessels engaged in commerce; and is, besides, noted for its manufactures and literary institutions. The public library is very large; and the schools are numerous. Hamburg contains many splendid edifices. In the territory are several busy villages.

Lubec has a territory of one hundred and sixty square miles, but only 53,800 inhabitants. The city is situated on the Trave, nine miles from the Baltic Sea, and contains a population of 25,500, chiefly Lutherans. The government is similar to that of Hamburg. The Supreme Tribunal of the Four Free Cities sits at Lubec. The commerce is considerable, but it has greatly diminished in consequence of the



shallowness of the Trave. The city is well built of stone, has some handsome edifices, and presents a better appearance than Hamburg. The people are industrious and intelligent.

Bremen, on the Weser, has a territory of one hundred and six and a half square miles, and seventy-seven thousand inhabitants. The people are chiefly Calvinists and Lutherans. Jews are excluded from the city. The government resembles that of Hamburg. The city lies on both sides of the Weser, about forty-six miles from the sea, and has fifty-four thousand inhabitants. Steamships connect it with New York, and it has, besides, about two hundred and thirty trading vessels. The inland trade is very important, and manufactures are extensively carried on. The city is well built, and is rapidly increasing in size and wealth. The people are bustling, enterprising, and generally prosperous.

Frankfort on the Mayn, about eighteen miles from its junction with the Rhine, has forty-two and a half square miles of territory, and sixty-eight thousand inhabitants. The city has about fifty-eight thousand inhabitants, and carries on considerable trade, though its annual fairs have lost their importance. Its manufactures and its book trade are very valuable. The city is well built, and its population is distinguished for extraordinary enterprise and intelligence. The public libraries, various literary institutions, and numerous common schools pour out the riches of learning. The government is republican, the sovereign power being vested in a senate and legislative body. A majority of the people are protestants.

## The Kingdom of the Netherlands.

THE kingdom of the Netherlands is commonly, but erroneously, called Holland. The latter name, strictly, includes but a province of the state.\* The term Netherlands, or

\* Ungewitter.



Dutch.

Lowlands, was in the Middle Ages applied to the country now forming the states of the "Netherlands" and Belgium.

The kingdom of the Netherlands, proper, lies upon the north-western frontier of Germany, being bounded on the north by the North Sea. Exclusive of the provinces of Luxemburg and Limburg, which, politically, belong to Germany, the kingdom has an area of 11,832 square miles, and about 2,927,000 inhabitants. The climate is moderate, but frequently moist. The surface is level, and in general there is no variety of scenery. Grass and corn, canals and wind-mills, and cleanly towns and villages constantly meet the eye. The more or less marshy soil is fertile to an extraordinary degree. In the northern portion of the kingdom, the rearing of cattle engages more attention than agriculture. The butter and cheese here produced are world-renowned. Be-

sides husbandry, the chief means of sustenance is commerce, which extends to every part of the earth. The manufactures are not extensive, but in some provinces, linen and paper are made in considerable quantities.

The government is a limited monarchy, the power being vested in a king and two legislative chambers, called General States. The facilities for the diffusion of knowledge are great and widely ramified. There are three universities—at Leyden, Groningen, and Utrecht—three athenæa, or smaller universities, and about two thousand three hundred seminaries and schools.

In time of war, the kingdom can call to the field about seventy-six thousand regulars and eighty thousand schutters, or militia. The standing army consists of about forty thousand men. The navy consists of nine ships of the line, nineteen frigates, thirty-seven sloops-of-war, brigs, &c., fourteen steamers, and eighty-four gun-boats.

The people of the Netherlands are usually called Dutch. The great body of them originally belonged to the great Germanic tribe, but the Walloons or Flemings, Frisons, and Jews are numerous. Calvinism is the prevailing religious creed, but all religions are tolerated, and more than one-third of the people are catholics. In stature, the Dutch are much the same as the English: the women are comparatively taller than the men: they are decidedly handsome, and, when young, have naturally good complexions, which they might preserve to a later period, did they take more exercise in the open air, and abandon some injurious customs, such as the incessant use of the chauffepied, a box of burning peat, which accompanies them everywhere. "Nothing," says Mr. Nicholls, "can exceed the cleanliness, the personal propriety, and the apparent comfort of the people of Holland. I did not see a house or fence out of repair, or a garden that was not carefully cultivated. We met no ragged or dirty persons, nor any drunken man; neither did I see any indication that drunkenness is the vice of any portion of the people. I was assured that bastardy was almost unknown; and although

we were, during all hours of the day, much in the public thoroughfares, we saw only two beggars, and they, in manner and appearance, scarcely came within the designation. The Dutch people appear to be strongly attached to their government, and few countries possess a population in which the domestic and social duties are discharged with such constancy. A scrupulous economy, and cautious foresight seem to be the characteristic virtues of every class. To spend their full annual income is accounted a species of crime. The same systematic prudence pervades every part of the community, agricultural and commercial; and thus the Dutch people are enabled to bear up against the most formidable physical difficulties, and to secure a larger amount of individual comfort than probably exists in any other country."

The kingdom of the Netherlands is divided into ten provinces, two of which comprise the ancient province of Holland. Amsterdam, on the Amstel River, has 225,000 inhabitants, and is the chief city and emporium of the kingdom. The city is intersected by numerous canals, over which there are two hundred and ninety bridges. The royal palace is the most magnificent of the public edifices. The trade is very extensive. The Hague, or Gravenhaag, is the capital of the kingdom, and contains sixty-six thousand inhabitants. It is a regular and handsome city, situated near the North Sea. Leyden, between the Hague and Haarlem, has thirty-six thousand inhabitants. Rotterdam, on the Merwe or Meuse, is the second city in the kingdom, and contains eighty-three thousand inhabitants. Dort, Schredam, Middleburg, Flushing, Utrecht, Amersfort, Arnheim, Nimeguen, Zutphen, Zwoll, Campen, Leeuwarden, Groningen, Hertogenbosch, or Bois-le-Duc, Breda, Berg-op-Zoom, Tilbury, and Maestricht, are all large and busy cities.



## Belgium.

THE kingdom of Belgium is situated between France and the kingdom of the Netherlands. The total area is about 2,945,574 hectares, or eleven thousand four hundred and seventeen square miles. The kingdom is divided into seven provinces:—Antwerp, in the north; East and West Flanders and Hainault, in the west; Liege, in the east; and Namur, in the south. The northern part of Belgium is low and level; the southern part is mountainous.

Agriculture, manufactures, and trade are all actively and successfully pursued by the Belgians, while the working of the iron, copper, and coal mines prove very profitable. All kinds of grain, potatoes, and live stock are raised with success. But as Belgium is the most densely peopled country in Europe, the means of sustenance are extensively imported. Flemish husbandry has been famous for six hundred years. Flanders is very thickly peopled, and as the farms are small, they are carefully and skilfully cultivated. The soil was originally poor. Industry has made it rich. The manufactures consist chiefly of woollens and cottons, carpets, linen, silk, lace, and paper; though all kinds of manufacture receive attention. Wool, in Belgium, is the object of immense industry. Woollen stuffs are manufactured in every province in the kingdom, and great quantities of the raw material are imported. The principal ports are Ostend and Antwerp. The commerce is still extensive, but not equal to its value before the revolution of 1830. All kinds of inland communication are found in perfection in Belgium, and the trade is therefore considerable.

The government is a constitutional monarchy, under a dynasty freely elected by the constituents of the nation. The broadest principles of civil freedom are established by the constitution. The press is free. Universal toleration, liberty of public religious worship, and the liberty of publishing

opinions upon all subjects, is guaranteed. No one can be prosecuted, nor have his house entered, but by authority and form of law. The sovereign power is vested in a king and two legislative chambers. The members of the chambers represent the nation, not districts nor provinces. The nobility, enjoy only a personal title, without constituting a social order. The number of voting citizens in Belgium is about fifty thousand.

The kingdom has four universities, a number of athenæa, two industrial schools, and a considerable number of primary schools; but the *voluntary* system of instruction is a check upon the progress of the people in intelligence. The number of workhouses and charitable institutions is very large. The great body of the people belong to the Roman Catholic church. The army of Belgium is fixed at one hundred and ten thousand men—a very expensive establishment. The navy is insignificant.

The population of Belgium numbers 4,350,000 persons, chiefly descended from the Walloon and Flemish tribes. The Belgians have been successfully subjected to the influence of so many different governments—French, Austrian, Spanish, Dutch—that they consequently possess no distinctive and peculiar national character. The apathy and persevering industry of the Dutch is blended with the vivacity and self-assurance of the French, without producing an agreeable compound. The different provinces exhibit some variety of character and manners. On the borders of Holland the people are generally similar to the Dutch, and adopt their customs, amusements, and dress; but in the southern districts they differ but little from the French in appearance, habits, costume, and language. The Belgians have always displayed a passionate fondness for social liberty—an impatience of control that embroiled them with all their different rulers, and involved them in ruinous disasters during many successive centuries. Writers of all ages agree in describing the Belgians as the most restless, unruly, tumult-loving mortals

in existence; always treating their best rulers worst, while the bad overawed them.

Brussels, the metropolis of the kingdom, is situated on the Seine, and exclusive of the suburbs, has a population of one hundred and twenty-six thousand inhabitants. It is noted for its manufactures, and is one of the first cities of Europe. Antwerp, on the Scheldt, has a beautiful harbour, is strongly fortified, has a very extensive foreign trade, and eighty thousand inhabitants. Ghent, on the Scheldt, thirty-four miles west of Antwerp, is noted for its remarkable and ancient edifices, and its manufactures, and has ninety-thousand inhabitants. Bruges, twenty-eight miles from Ghent, has extensive manufactures and forty-five thousand inhabitants. Liege, at the junction of the Ourtho and Meuse, has seventy-four thousand inhabitants, and is famed for its cutlery, fire-arms, iron works, and coal mines. Mons, Tournay, Roulers, St. Nicholas, Alost, Dendermonde, Namur, Ypern, and Ostend are large and important towns. Belgium is thickly sown with towns.

## Spain.

THE kingdom of Spain comprises nearly four-fifths of the Pyrenean peninsula, at the south-west extremity of Europe, and is separated from France by the Pyrenees. The total area is 179,921 square miles. The surface is thoroughly mountainous. The Sierra Nevada and the Sierra Morena are the chief ranges. The soil exhibits great diversity. The central region consists for the most part of arid, unsheltered plains, either of sand or gypsum, intersected with lofty mountains, which reflect with intolerable fierceness the scorching heat of summer, and sharpen into more intense keenness the intense cold of winter. The lower region of the coast, sloping gradually toward the sea, is broken into an alternation of mountains and valleys, producing the most agreeable variety, and presenting a pleasant contrast to the bleak and

barren sameness which characterizes the central region. It is everywhere fertile, or may be rendered so by irrigation.

The mineral and metallic productions of Spain are rich and various. Coal, silver, quicksilver, and lead are the chief. The soil is not so generally fertile as has been represented, and agriculture is in a very backward state. Wheat, oats, barley, maize, rice, oil, sugar, hemp, flax, sedge, cotton, saffron, vanilla, silk, wine, grapes, and a great variety of fruits are the principal productions. Timber is scarce. Horses and sheep are raised in great numbers.

Though wool and silk are abundant in Spain, manufactures are in a backward state. Taxes, monopolies, and the indolence of the people operate against all attempts at improvement. But in Catalonia, Biscay, and Valencia, the most industrious provinces, several branches of the woollen manufacture are carried on. The anti-commercial policy of the government has had a disastrous effect upon the trade of Spain, and has driven a large portion of the population into the business of smuggling. The contraband trade is quite extensive.

The government is a limited monarchy, the sovereign power being vested in a king, or queen, and a cortes consisting of a senate and a chamber of deputies. The senators are appointed by the sovereign from a triple list, prepared by the electors of each province. Each province appoints one deputy for every fifty thousand persons, for the general congress, and besides, has its cortes for local administration. Each town has its corporation, or ayuntamiento. The alcaldes, who are annually chosen in the different towns, are wretched excuses for judges, and both life and property are very insecure throughout the country. There is no freedom of speech or of the press in Spain.

The Roman Catholic is the established church, and the sovereign is addressed as "his, or her, most Catholic majesty." All other religions are tolerated by law. The recent endeavours of protestant ministers to propagate their doctrines, and to circulate the Bible, have met with less ob-



struction than might have been expected. The clergy is wealthy, numerous, and all-powerful. Although a portion of the estates belonging to the church have been confiscated, their value is still very great. The immense number of religious festivals has an injurious effect upon all branches of industry. The means of education are entirely under the control of the clergy, and the great body of the people are consequently ignorant. The chief lesson of the schools is submission to whatever the government or the church authorities see proper to direct.

In spite of the poverty of the finances, Spain keeps an army of nearly one hundred thousand men, ready for emergencies. The navy is insignificant. The nation is burdened with taxes, at the rate of one hundred and twenty reals per head, the amount of which goes to the support of the government, the army, the nobility, and the clergy.

The population numbers about twelve millions inhabitants. The wages of farm labourers average about fifteen cents per diem, when they board themselves.

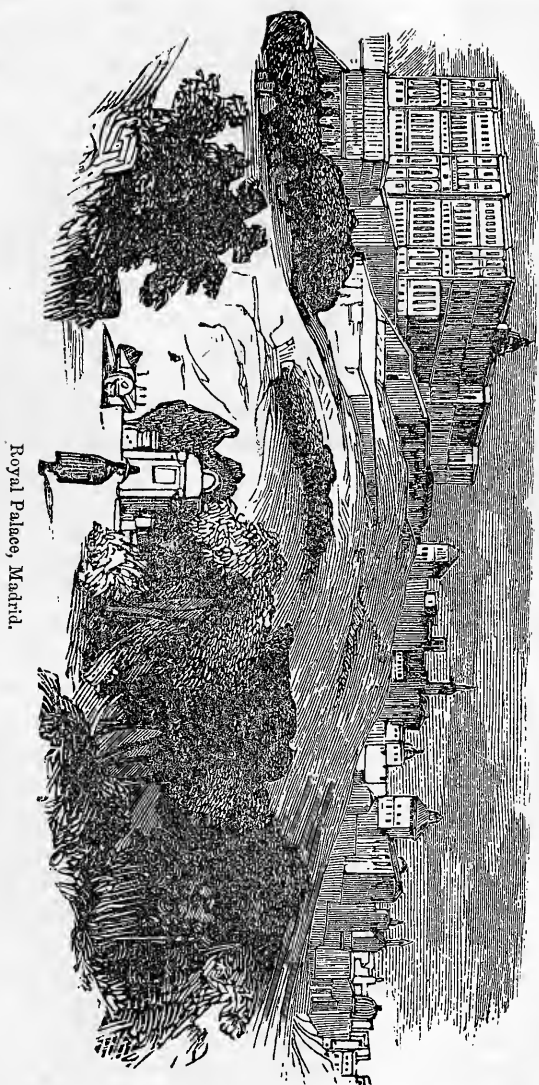
It is believed that over one hundred thousand Spaniards are constantly engaged in the contraband trade, making good profits, defying the laws, and resisting the revenue officers. This adventurous life has peculiar attractions for the Spaniards. The manufacturing population is in a still worse condition than the tillers of the soil. The number of producers compared with the number of consumers is very small. A vast body of pampered idlers lie like an incubus upon the nation.

Spain is divided into twelve provinces, viz.:—New Castile, Old Castile, Galicia, Estremadura, Andalusia, Granada, Valencia, Catalonia, Aragon, Navarre, Guipuscoa, and the Balearic isles. Madrid, the capital and chief city, is situated on the Manzares, a branch of the Tagus, and contains, besides the royal palace, Buen Retiro, seventy-seven churches, many magnificent buildings and beautiful gardens, and about 208,000 inhabitants. Seville, the chief city of Andalusia, is situated on the Guadalquivir, abounds in beautiful and



Spaniards.

magnificent edifices, and contains ninety-one thousand inhabitants. Cadiz, on the Isle of Leon, contains seventy thousand inhabitants, and is the chief port of Spain. Granada, the capital of the province of the same name, is situated on the Xenil river, at the foot of the Sierra Nevada, and contains eighty thousand inhabitants, and many highly remarkable edifices built by the Moors. Malaga, a maritime town, in the same province, famous for its grapes and wine, contains fifty-two thousand inhabitants. Saragossa, the strongly fortified capital of Aragon, on the Ebro, has a thriving commerce, and fifty thousand inhabitants. Barcelona, the fortified capital of Catalonia, and the principal manufacturing town in Spain, on the coast of the Mediter-



Royal Palace, Madrid.

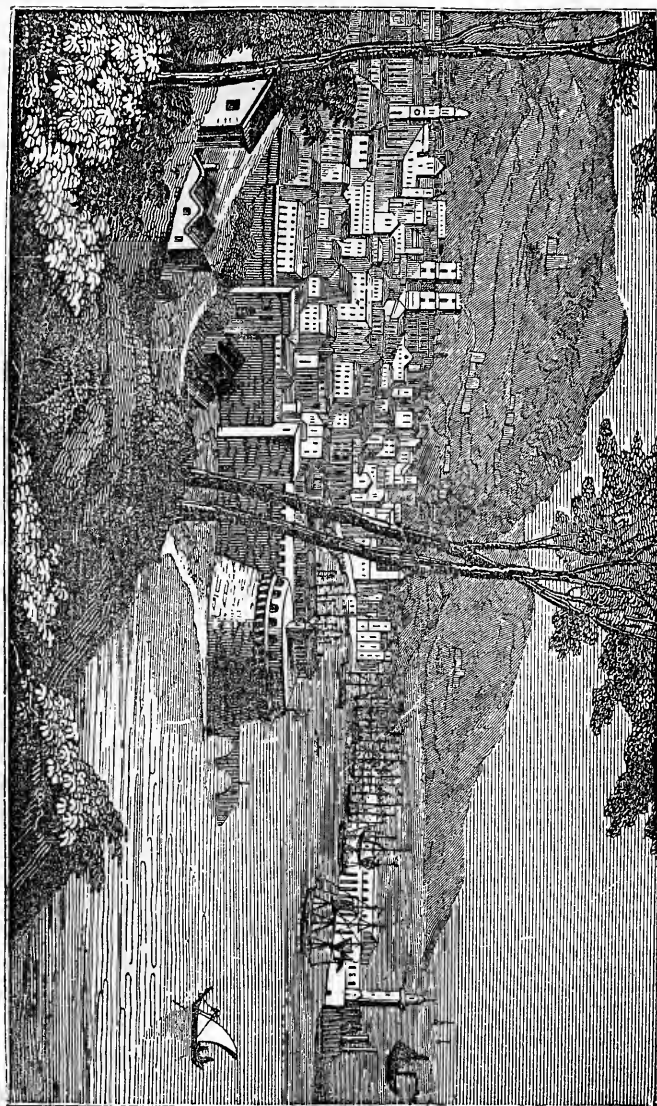
anean, contains one hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants. Valencia, the capital of the province of the same name, is situated near the mouth of the Guadalquivir, and contains sixty-six thousand inhabitants, and important factories. Palma, the fortified capital of the Balearic Isles, has thirty-four thousand inhabitants. Santander, Corunna, St. Jago de Compostello, San Lucas, Ecija, and Jaen, are large towns. Cordova and Xeres de la Frontera, have each sixty thousand inhabitants, and are situated in the fertile and populous province of Andalusia.

### Portugal.

PORTUGAL is the most western state of Europe, and occupies that portion of the peninsula which lies between the 37th and 42d degrees of north latitude, and the 6th and 10th of west longitude, having Spain upon the east and north, and the Atlantic ocean on the south and west. The total area is 36,108 square miles. In natural features, it resembles Spain. Wine, olive oil, wheat, barley, oats, hemp, and flax, are the chief productions. Agriculture is in a very backward state. Indeed, all branches of industry are in the same condition as we find them in Spain. Silk, calicos, gold and silver ware, and linen, are the chief manufactured articles. The commerce is quite limited, the exports far exceeding the imports. Since the days of Cromwell, the English have almost monopolized the trade of the country. Indeed, Portugal may be regarded as a province of Great Britain.

The population numbers 3,500,000 persons, 250,000 of whom live in the Azore Isles. The Roman Catholic is the established religion, though all others are tolerated. The means of education are rather imposing than beneficial. The lower orders of the people are generally ignorant, in spite of the existence of universities and common schools.

The government is a limited hereditary monarchy, the sovereign power being vested in a king or a queen, and a legislative body. The army numbers about eighteen thou-



Barcelona



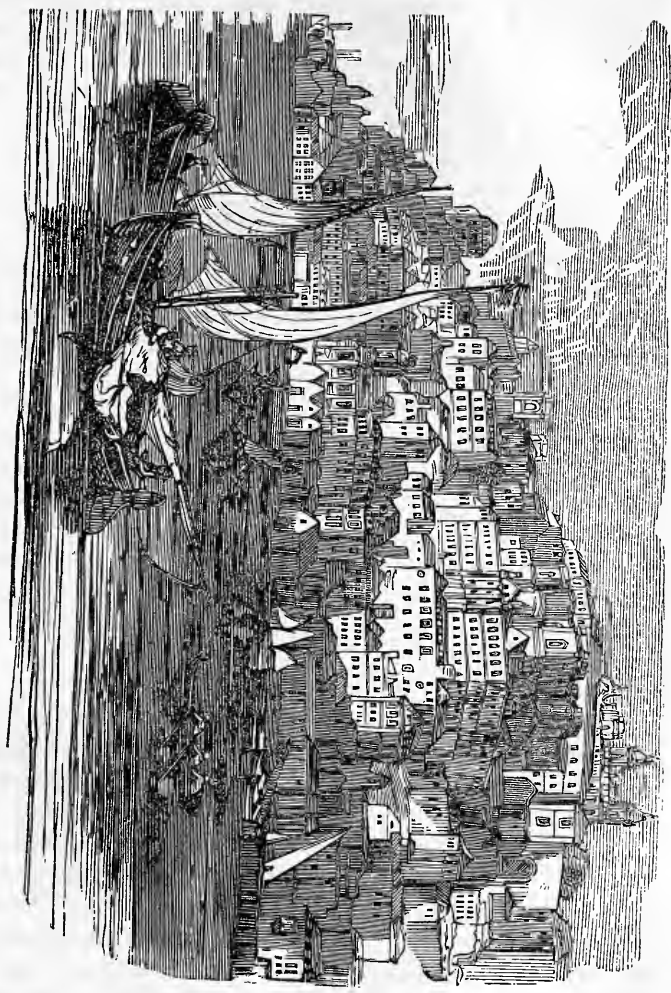
Priest and Peasants.

sand men ; the navy, once so mighty, is reduced to nothing. Still the taxes of the people are heavy, and there is but little prospect of their diminution.

The Spaniards and Portuguese regard each other with a deep-rooted national antipathy.

“Well doth the Spanish hind the difference know,  
Twixt him and Lusian slave, the lowest of the low.”

“Strip a Spaniard of all his virtues, and you make a good Portuguese of him,” says the Spanish proverb. “I have heard it more truly said,” says Dr. Southey, “add hypocrisy to a Spaniard’s vices, and you have the Portuguese character.” The two nations differ, perhaps purposely, in many of their habits. Almost every man in Spain smokes ; the Portuguese never smoke, but most of them take snuff. None of the Spaniards will use a wheelbarrow : none of the Portuguese will carry a burden : the one says, ‘It is fit only for beasts to draw carriages ;’ the other, that ‘it is fit only for beasts to carry burdens.’” In one respect, however, their tastes are identical, bull-fights being quite as popular among the Portuguese as among the Spaniards. Semple’s statements, as to



Oporto.

the Portuguese character, coincide with those of Du Chatelet. "The Portuguese are generally dark-complexioned and thin, with black hair, irascible and revengeful in their tempers, and eager in their gestures on trivial occasions. They are also said to be indolent, deceitful, and cowardly; but they are temperate in diet, and that may be classed at the head of their virtues, if, indeed, they have many more. They have no public spirit, and consequently, no national character. An Englishman, or a Frenchman, may be distinguished in foreign countries by an air and manners peculiar to his nation; but any meagre swarthy man may pass for a Portuguese." All classes seem to despise cleanliness; and Lisbon, and the Portuguese towns generally, are certainly entitled to the not very enviable distinction, of being about the filthiest in Europe. The morals of both sexes are lax in the extreme; and, as it is averred, assassination is a common offence. On the whole, we incline to think, that owing to vicious institutions, the Portuguese rank about as low in the social scale as any people of Christendom. But the fair presumption is, that under the beneficial influence of the new constitutional arrangements, the abuses that have depressed and degraded the nation will be extirpated; and that the Portuguese will once more recover their ancient place among European nations.

Portugal is divided into the provinces of Estremadura, Beira, Entre Minho e Douro, Traz os Montes, Alemtejo, and Algarve. Lisbon, the capital, is in the first of these provinces, on the right bank of the Tagus, contains 280,000 inhabitants, a remarkable cathedral, a large number of fine public and private buildings, and has a fine harbour and considerable-commerce. But the city is generally ill-built, and the streets are very dirty. There are several small towns in the same province. Setubal has fifteen thousand inhabitants. Coimbra, the capital of Beira, on the Mondega, has considerable inland commerce, and fifteen thousand inhabitants. Oporto, the capital of Entre Minho e Douro, is situated on the right bank of the Douro, and contains eighty thousand inhabitants. Its commerce and manu-



factures are extensive. The famous "port wine," is the chief export. The city contains numerous and handsome public buildings.

## France.

FRANCE, one of the most powerful of the states of Europe, enjoys a commanding situation, between latitude  $42^{\circ} 20'$  and  $51^{\circ} 5'$  north, and longitude  $4^{\circ} 50'$  west, and  $8^{\circ} 20'$  east, having the English Channel, the Straits of Dover, and the North Sea, on the north and north-west; Belgium, Luxemburg, and the Rhenish provinces of Prussia and Bavaria on the north-east; Baden, Switzerland, and Sardinia, on the east; the Mediterranean and Spain on the south; and the Bay of Biscay and the Atlantic, on the west. Its natural lines of separation from other states are the Rhine, the Juras, Alps, and Pyrenees. France holds a position to command three seas. Inclusive of Corsica, the total area of this state is 203,736 square miles. The chief rivers are the Seine, Loire, Garonne, and Rhone. The country is well watered. Canals and railroads are numerous.

The soil of France is, in general, very fertile. There are large tracts of mountainous, unproductive land; but the productive soil bears a larger proportion to the extent of country than in most other European states. The greatest extent of mountainous surface is found in the departments of the Alps and Pyrenees, and those of Ariège, Côte d'Or, Drôme, Doubs, Haute Loire, and Haute Marne. The rich lands are chiefly found in Gers, Aisne, Eure-et-Loire, Eure, Marne, Nord, Tarn, and Yonne. France has considerable mineral and metallic wealth. Coal, salt, plaster of Paris, iron, silver, copper, lead, mercury, zinc, tin, and manganese, are the principal products of the mines. The forests are extensive, and chiefly found in the mountainous districts. The climate of France is not excelled by that of any other part of Europe. The air is generally pure, and the temperature is seldom found in extremes. Around the Gulf of Lyons, the

people, and strangers in a greater degree, are exposed to a very disagreeable north wind, called the *bise*, or *circius*, which creates a feeling of suffocation.

A great quantity of grain is raised in France, but it is not sufficient to supply the home demand. Agriculture is generally in a backward state. The vine culture is of the first importance. It is estimated that 720,000,000 gallons of wine are produced annually, a greater quantity than is produced in any other country. The chief of the other vegetable productions are madder, fruits, sugar-beets, olives, tobacco, capers, almonds, and truffles. The rearing of live stock is in a backward state.

The manufactures of France are various and very valuable. Cotton and woollen goods, silk, fancy articles, hardware, jewelry, perfumes, paper, etc., are annually manufactured to the amount of at least four hundred thousand dollars. The shawls, paper, and cloth, are unrivalled. France ranks next to Great Britain as a commercial state. The imports exceed the exports by many millions. The commerce extends, like that of Great Britain and the United States, to all parts of the world.

The government of France is a military despotism, Louis Napoleon Bonaparte being, to all intents and purposes, "the state." There is a constitution, which extends the office of president over the term of ten years, and creates two legislative bodies—a senate, in which the members hold their seats for life, and a legislative chamber of five hundred members; but the president selects the members of both bodies from lists prepared in the departments, and by an extensive system of patronage and an overawing army, he holds the entire power of the state.

There is great room for improving and extending the means of education in France. All schools, with the exception of military, mining, and industrial academies, are under the special direction of a Supreme Board, at Paris, called the University, which has nothing to do, in itself, with instruction. Just as the twenty-seven tribunals are subjected

to the control of the Court of Cassation, the twenty-seven academies are subjected to the orders of the University, while all common schools are under the control of these academies. France has no universities like those of Germany. There are *faculties of science and literature* at Paris, Cren, Dijon, Grenoble, Montpellier, Strasburg, and Toulouse. There are three hundred and fifty-nine colleges, eleven hundred private schools, and one hundred and twenty clerical schools. Out of every one thousand French, four hundred can neither read nor write. France must be educated before she can appreciate the blessings of a liberal government.

There is no established religion in France, all creeds and practices being tolerated. The mass of the people are Roman Catholics. There are about four thousand convents in the country. The Protestants number about four millions. It should be observed, however, that many of the Catholics do not regard the authority of the pope, though they hold the Roman creed.

The population of France is estimated to amount to thirty-five millions five hundred thousand. The great mass belong to the family of the Romanians. The number of Germans is about 1,500,000, who are chiefly found in Alsace and Lorraine. In French Flanders, we find about 180,000 Flemings. In Brittany, are about 1,200,000 Breyzards, or descendants of the ancient Bretons. In Gascogne, we find 150,000 Basques. Near the Pyrenees, the gipsies reach the number of 9000.\*

In general the French are inferior in size and strength to the English and Germans. Five feet two inches is the minimum size for regimental recruits. The national characteristics are vivacity, impetuosity, politeness, and sociability. Cool, patient perseverance is the general want. The revolutions have swept away the titles of nobility, and rendered the distribution of property more equal. Before the great revolution of 1789, the property of persons dying intestate was subject, in different parts of the kingdom, to different regula-

\* Ungewitter.

tions; but everywhere, estates could be disposed of by will and settled by entail. At the revolution, a law was passed, so regulating the distribution of property as to divide the land into very insignificant portions. At present, of the entire population of France, about half belong to the class of small proprietors, and about two-thirds are actually engaged in the business of agriculture, or depend directly upon it for support. The greater number of these agriculturalists are miserably poor; nor do the small proprietors live as well as the common labourers in England. They are destitute of capital, intelligence, and enterprise. In some departments, the process of division and subdivision has not been carried so far as in others; but generally, if a property exceed one hundred or two hundred acres, and in many instances, if it exceed eighty, it is divided, and a portion let to a tenant. Leases are usually very short; and this is another drawback to success in agriculture.

The mining population, which numbers about 155,000, is subject to the supervision of officers appointed for the service by the government. The hands employed are but poorly remunerated. From Dunkirk to St. Valery, the inhabitants of the coast derive a considerable part of their subsistence from the fisheries for sole, ray, turbot, mackerel, herring, &c. The pilchard fishery of Brittany employs a large number of fishermen, besides a number of hands in curing and barrelling the fish.

The manufacturing population of France may be estimated at between 900,000 and 1,000,000. In 1827, M. Dupin estimated the average gains of an artisan and his wife, in a town, at seven hundred and eighty-three francs a year; and in 1832, M. de Morogues estimated their united wages at eight hundred francs. Since that time the condition of the artisan has considerably improved. Rye flour, after supplanting buckwheat and oatmeal, has, in its turn, been superseded, in many parts, by wheat, as an article of consumption. Meat is seldom obtained by the workman. The dress of all classes has been much improved by the more general use of woollens,



General Lamoricière.

cottons, &c., and in most large towns, except those of the south, there is now little externally to distinguish the artisans and their families from the bourgeoisie, or lesser trading families. There are considerable differences in the condition and habits of the workpeople in the different manufacturing towns; but, on the whole they are, physically and morally, vastly improved. The instructions of numerous socialist leaders and political theorists, and the formation of clubs for discussing the measures of government, have tended to enlighten the workmen, though they may cherish impracticable notions. The artisans of the Parisian faubourgs lately evinced their progress in knowledge and judgment by refusing to participate in, or even to witness, the deluding shows gotten up by the despot, President Bonaparte.

The French are the teachers of the civilized world in fashion, manners, and, in a degree, in customs. The Parisian plates of fashions for costume are eagerly sought by the *beau monde*. But there are few cities in the world, where there is so much "polite licentiousness," and "rose-hued corruption," as in the French capital. Other cities copy the politeness, and leave the licentiousness to the Parisians. The people generally are passionately fond of amusements of all kinds. The theatres, opera-houses, circuses, race-grounds, and ball-rooms are on an extensive scale, and very liberally patronized. Music is not so commonly studied as in Germany, but there are few Frenchmen who have not a love for the "concord of sweet sounds."

France has always been a military power. In 1846, the army consisted of 340,000 men and 81,669 horses. Besides this, there is a regularly organized national guard of immense strength. In 1845, the navy consisted of twenty-three ships-of-the-line, thirty frigates, twenty-two sloops-of-war, one hundred and fifty-four other vessels, four steam frigates, and forty-one other steam vessels, all in active service, while twenty-three ships-of-the-line, twenty frigates, three sloops-of-war, and two schooners were in the navy yards, and four

steam frigates, and eighteen other steam-vessels still on the stocks.\*

France is divided into eighty-six departments, which are subdivided into three hundred and sixty-three districts. The districts are divided into cantons, which are subdivided into communities. The latter number 37,295. Each department is governed by a prefect, each district by an under-prefect, and each canton and community by a mayor.

Paris, the capital of France, on the Seine, has a population of over a million persons. In 1846, the number of inhabitants was 1,053,097. Subsequent events have considerably diminished the amount. Paris, besides fourteen suburbs, has three sections, called *ville*, *cite*, and *university*. The *ville* is situated on the north side of the Seine, the *cite* on the islands of the river, and the *university* on the south side of the Seine. Paris contains about thirty thousand houses, many of which are eighty feet in height; 1150 streets, the greater number of which are narrow and dirty; seventy-five public palaces, many of which are very highly adorned; twenty-two bridges, of which the Pont Neuf is famous for its size; forty-one churches, Notre Dame being the most celebrated; twenty-five hospitals, eighty-four barracks, twenty-four theatres, and eight palaces, the Tuileries and Palais Royal being the chief. The public buildings generally are on a magnificent scale. The public gardens are numerous, large, and highly adorned. The Jardin des Plantes is the most remarkable. There are forty-three public libraries, and the principal one contains seven hundred thousand volumes and seventy thousand manuscripts. The picture galleries, particularly that of the Louvre, are renowned for their excellence, as are the literary and scientific institutions. The manufactures and the inland trade are very important.

“Paris,” observes Mr. H. Lytton Bulwer, “is divided into quarters as well by its manners as its laws, and these different districts differ as widely one from the other in the ideas, habits, and appearance of their inhabitants, as in the height

\* Ungewitter.

and size of their buildings, or the width and cleanliness of their streets. The *Chaussée d'Antin* breathes the atmosphere of the Bourse; and the Palais Royal is the district of bankers, stockbrokers, generals of the empire, and rich tradespeople; and it is the quarter fullest of life, most animated, most rife with the spirit of progress, change, luxury, and elegance. Here are all the new buildings, arcades, and shops, and here are given the richest and most splendid balls. How different is the *quartier* St. Germain, the district of the long and silent street, of the meagre repast, and the large, well-trimmed garden, of the great courtyard, of the broad and dark staircase, inhabited by the administrations and the old nobility, manifesting no signs of change, no widening of streets, no piercing of arcades or passages: it hardly possesses a restaurant of note, and has but one unfrequented theatre. Farther east, on the same side of the Seine, is the *quartier* of the students, at once poor and popular, inhabited by those eloquent and illustrious professors who give to France its literary glory. Then there is the Marais, the retreat of old-fashioned judges and merchants, where the manners have been changed almost as little as the houses by the philosophy of the eighteenth century: here are no carriages, no equipages: all is still and silent; you are carried back to the customs of the grand hotels in the time of Louis XIII. Then there is the Faubourg St. Antoine, the residence of those immense masses that reigned under Robespierre, and which Bonaparte, after Waterloo, refused to summon to his assistance. And behold the ancient city of Paris surrounded by the Seine, and filled by a vast and wretched population; there, proud amid the sordid roofs around them, rise the splendid towers of Notre Dame, that temple of the twelfth century, which, in spite of the Madeleine, has not been surpassed in the nineteenth; there is the Hôtel Dieu, the antique hospital as old as the time of Philip Augustus, and there is the Palais de Justice, where sat the parliament of Broussel, remarkable in the chronicle of De Retz!"

The hotels and restaurants of Paris are numerous; many



of them being splendidly furnished, and having the best accommodations. The most densely peopled arrondissements of Paris are the Second, Eighth, and Twelfth. Of the entire population of the city, it is supposed that nearly one-half are working people, the rest being composed of tradesmen, professional men, and persons of independent property. There are about eighty thousand servants, and nearly the same number of paupers. The quantity of crime, profligacy, and suicide in this great city is astonishing. The suicides in Paris during the last twenty years have averaged two hundred and thirty.

Lyons, at the confluence of the Saone and Rhone, in the Rhone department, is the second French city in population and manufactures, and, including its suburbs, it has two hundred and ten thousand inhabitants. Its forty thousand silk looms employ eighty thousand persons, and annually produce silks of the value of one hundred million of francs. The weaving population is ill lodged, but abundantly supplied with food. The wages are very low. The hours of work vary from twelve to sixteen. The numerous insurrections of the working men evidence their poor condition. The upper and middle classes of Lyons are eminently rich and comfortable. The public buildings are numerous and handsome. But the greater portion of the city is irregularly built, and consists of narrow, winding, and dirty streets, rendered dark by the extreme height of the houses. The neighbouring country is thickly inhabited.

Marseilles, the capital of the Rhone-mouths' department, is, in some respects, the first commercial city of France. The city is on the Mediterranean, between the mouths of the Rhone and Toulon. Its inhabitants number one hundred and sixty thousand. The city is built around its port, somewhat in the shape of a horse-shoe, and is divided into two parts. The first, or old town, occupies a rising ground, on the north side of the harbour, and is confined and ill-built, with narrow streets, dark lanes, and dirty-looking houses. The second, or new town, is constructed in the modern style, with regular



Havre.

streets and handsome squares and houses, and stands on the south and east side of the port. A magnificent avenue separates the two divisions of the city. Marseilles has numerous and handsome public edifices, but none which merit particular notice. The commerce is very extensive, and constantly increasing. Nine-tenths of the trade of France with the countries bordering on the Mediterranean centres in this city. The manufactures are numerous and important. The artisans form a large and active class. There are few capitalists in Marseilles. As soon as men realize a competence they retire, as is the custom in Paris. The houses and modes of living resemble those of the capital.

Rouen, the ancient capital of Normandy, is situated on the Seine, sixty-nine miles from Paris. It has some handsome public buildings, considerable commerce, numerous and valuable manufactures of cotton, woollen, silk, etc., and contains one hundred thousand inhabitants. Nantes is the chief town on the Loire, and carries on a very considerable foreign

and inland trade. The inhabitants number ninety thousand. Toulouse, on the Garonne, has many remarkable ancient buildings, numerous manufactures, and eighty thousand inhabitants. Bordeaux, on the left bank of the Garonne, is the emporium of the south-west provinces, and the chief seat of the wine trade. The city is handsomely built, and contains one hundred and twenty thousand inhabitants. About twenty-five thousand tuns of wine are now exported from Bordeaux. The citizens of Bordeaux have always been distinguished for their attachment to royalty, and have made many sacrifices to benefit the French monarchs. Lille and Strasbourg are large, busy, and handsome cities. France has a number of provincial capitals, each with over thirty thousand inhabitants. Havre, the port of Paris, has an extensive commerce, and thirty thousand inhabitants. Ajaccio, the chief town of Corsica, has ten thousand inhabitants. The people of Corsica resemble the Italians in appearance, manners, customs, and traditions.

## The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

THE United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland comprises two large islands, with several groups of smaller ones, lying at the north-western end of Europe, and separated from the continent by the Straits of Dover. The total area is 117,921 square miles, with a population of 28,500,000 persons. The largest of the two islands embraces England, Scotland, and Wales. The smaller island is Ireland.

The government is a limited monarchy,—the power being vested in a Sovereign, a House of Lords, and a House of Commons. The Protestant Episcopal Church is established in England, but all creeds are tolerated. In Scotland the Presbyterian church is established. In Ireland four-fifths of the people are Roman Catholics.

The nation is divided into three classes—the nobility,



English Students.

gentry, and commonalty. The first comprises dukes, marquises, earls, viscounts, and barons; the second, all who are distinguished for wealth, education, talents, or office; and the third, tradesmen, artificers, and labourers.

The surface of Great Britain is diversified. Wales is mountainous; England beautifully undulated; Scotland is divided into highlands and lowlands; Ireland is generally level and boggy, but has mountains in the south-west. The soil is in general fertile. The climate is healthful, though moist in England and Ireland, and cold in Scotland. The chief agricultural products are wheat, barley, oats, hops, flax, and potatoes. The latter furnish the chief food of the poor. Great quantities of cattle are reared throughout the islands. The mines of Cornwall, Wales, and Anglesea, yield coal, iron, lead, tin, and silver. England is the first manufacturing country in the world. The cotton, woollen, hardware,

earthenware, silk, and leather manufactures give employment to about two million persons. Scotland and Ireland are also important manufacturing countries. The commerce is superior to that of any other nation and extends to all quarters of the world. Numerous rivers, canals, and railroads afford ample means for inland communication.

The facilities for the diffusion of knowledge are eight universities—three in England, one in Ireland, and four in Scotland—numerous seminaries, and an extensive system of common schools. But the schools of Scotland alone can be compared, in management and efficiency, with those of Germany.

The army consists of about one hundred and twenty-two thousand men, thirty thousand being kept in India. In 1845, the navy numbered six hundred and eighty vessels, one hundred and twenty-five of which were steamers, and ninety-nine ships-of-the-line. Since that time many large steamers have been constructed.

England and Wales have a population of 17,000,000, the principality having but 1,000,000 of that number. England proper contains forty counties, or shires; Middlesex, which contains London, being the most populous. The agricultural population is, in general, better conditioned than in most of the continental states. It is true, the nobility have immense estates, and they are more anxious to make money out of them than to reward the labourer or improve the circumstances of their tenantry; but the system of letting land and the methods of cultivating it, are so much superior to those prevalent on the continent, that the agriculturists may be said to be, comparatively, well provided. The manufacturing population may be said to be poorly paid, and, in general, badly conditioned. In all the manufacturing towns, there is a vast amount of pauperism and degradation. Men, women, and children are condemned to toil from early morn till night in the factories, for sums which barely furnish them with decent lodging and good food. The miners are still more badly conditioned. No portion of the continent can furnish such



English Soldiers and Peasants.

a jaded and miserable class of beings. The trading population is thriving, well provided, and contented. The clergy, nobility, and gentry are highly educated and polished in their manners. The characteristics of the English people are steadiness, perseverance, heartiness, cool observation, and a considerable amount of pride. There are few ways in which national character and habits are more truthfully displayed than in popular sports and amusements. Fox-hunting is the chief of the out-door sports of the country gentlemen of England. Hare-hunting, fishing, and steeple-chases are also much practised. Boat-racing, horse-racing, boxing, wrestling, and cricket are favourite sports with all.

London, the metropolis of Great Britain, is situated on both sides of the Thames, about forty-five miles above the river's mouth. The site on the north side is high and dry, but, on the south, it is so low as to be under the level of the highest tides, though by a system of drainage, it is kept free

from the water. The inhabitants number about 2,500,000. The number of houses is estimated at three hundred thousand, covering about seventeen square miles. The West End of London is the centre of fashion, and besides being adorned by many magnificent residences, has four large parks, which are well styled the "lungs" of the city. The centre of the city is the seat of an extensive commerce, and is full of bustle. Westminster contains the royal palaces, the houses of parliament, the law courts, most of the public offices, and the town residences of nearly all the nobility and aristocracy. There are seven handsome bridges across the Thames. The tunnel under the river is one of the most remarkable works of the age. The churches, the palaces, and the public edifices of all kinds, are remarkable for grandeur and beauty. St. Paul's Cathedral is considered as second to St. Peter's at Rome alone. The theatres and opera houses, the chief of which are Covent Garden and Drury Lane, are large and elegant. The hotels, coffee-houses, and club-rooms are numerous and generally well supplied and sustained; but they are not equal to those of Paris. In spite of the provision of poorhouses and of the exertion of numerous societies, beggars swarm in London. The tradespeople are generally better fed, clothed, and lodged than the same class in continental cities. Many of the business men of London reside in the adjacent country.

Liverpool, a city with about three hundred thousand inhabitants, and twenty-five thousand houses, on the Mersey, is next to London in commerce, the great *dépôt* of the trade with America and Ireland, and noted for the most costly docks in the world. There are many splendid public edifices in this city, and its population is very active and enterprising. Manchester, on the Irwell, is the great centre of the cotton manufacture, and has three hundred and ten thousand inhabitants. Birmingham, between Liverpool and London, is the great centre of the manufacture of hardware, including fire-arms, steam-engines, locks, screws, buttons, and such a variety of small articles that it has been styled the "toy-shop"

of Europe. Bristol, on the Severn, has one hundred and twenty thousand inhabitants, and is the third commercial town in England. Ashton-under-Lyne has one hundred and thirty thousand five hundred inhabitants, and is noted for its cotton manufactures. Sheffield, noted for its cutlery, has eighty-five thousand inhabitants. Stockport, with numerous manufactures, has eighty-six thousand inhabitants. Portsmouth and Plymouth are great naval stations, and large and handsome cities. Leeds, famous for its manufactures of cloth and other woollen goods, has one hundred and seventy thousand inhabitants. Bolton, with cotton manufactures, has ninety-eight thousand inhabitants. Newcastle-upon-Tyne, is famous for its coal-pits, various manufactures, and the whale-fishery, and has seventy-two thousand inhabitants. England contains a number of cities, each having a population of over thirty thousand inhabitants, and a great number of small towns.

The principality of Wales has an area of seven thousand two hundred and sixty-three square miles, and one million of inhabitants. The Welsh are the descendants of the ancient Britons. They have a language different from the English, and excel in manufacturing flannel. Iron, lead, copper, and coal abound. Wales is divided into twelve counties. Swansea, at the mouth of the Tawey, is the most important commercial town and watering-place, and has forty thousand inhabitants. There are a number of other considerable towns. The Welsh are generally hardy, industrious, brave, and persevering.

Scotland comprises the northern half of the great eastern island, having an area of thirty-one thousand two hundred and sixty-eight square miles, and a population of two million eight hundred and forty thousand inhabitants. The Grampian Hills divide the country into the Highlands and the Lowlands. Politically, Scotland is divided into thirty-two shires, or counties, inclusive of numerous islands. Of the 19,000,000 acres of land in the country, not more than 6,000,000 are arable. The general characteristics of the





Highlanders.

surface are sterility and ruggedness. The Highlands consist chiefly of mountains, moors, and morasses. The Lowlands are rugged, but embrace a considerable quantity of fertile land. The valleys are well cultivated. The *lochs*, or lakes, are numerous and distinguished for picturesque scenery. Grazing receives more attention in Scotland than agriculture. The cod and herring fishery upon the coast is very valuable, and employs a great number of persons. The manufactures of Scotland are second only to those of England. The commerce is extensive and important. The inhabitants of the Lowlands are principally of Saxon, while those of the High-

lands are almost entirely of Celtic origin. The national characteristics are strength and steadiness of purpose, industry, a very great respect for self, shrewdness, and hospitality. Landed property in Scotland is in fewer hands than in England, there being only about eight thousand proprietors in the country. The greater proportion of the land is distributed into large estates, which are held in entail. Rents are higher than in England. But the comfort and well-being of the agricultural labourers, and the wealth of the farmers, has increased with the rents of the landlords. The common school system renders the body of the people very intelligent. They are generally Presbyterians.

Edinburgh, the metropolis of Scotland, is situated near the Frith of Forth, in Mid Lothian. It contains thirteen thousand houses and one hundred and ninety thousand inhabitants. The new town, on the north, is finely laid out, and beautifully built. Edinburgh has but few manufactures, but it has long been famous for its literary and scientific institutions. Glasgow, on the Clyde, has two hundred and eighty thousand inhabitants, and is the largest and most bustling city in Scotland. Its commerce and manufactures are both very extensive. The cotton manufactures are particularly distinguished. The city is generally well built and contains some fine public edifices. Aberdeen, at the mouth of the Dee, has seventy thousand inhabitants, and is noted for its university, and for its ship building. Dundee has sixty-four thousand inhabitants, and is noted for its manufactures. The Hebrides, or Western Islands, are between two and three hundred in number, with a total population of ninety thousand inhabitants, who are mostly Roman Catholics.

Ireland has an area of 28,095 square miles, and a population of 8,600,000 inhabitants. The island is divided into four provinces—Leinster, Ulster, Connaught, and Munster; which are subdivided into thirty-two counties. The bulk of the nation is of Celtic origin. It may be said of the Irish, that they are ardent in their affection, credulous, vain, fond to excess of flattery, irascible, impulsive, and usually in ex-

tremes. Though their bravery is unquestionable, they lack the steady determination of the English and Scotch. They are eminently witty, humorous, sociable, and hospitable. Their light-hearted and cheerful disposition may be regarded as one cause of their lack of progress. Contentment of mind is the enemy of improvement. Four-fifths of the nation are Roman Catholics, and the clergy have great influence over the people. The majority of the other fifth are Presbyterians. In the north-east division of the island, the people are generally better lodged, clothed, and fed than in the others; the wages of labour are higher, and the land is better cultivated. In the southern districts there is a great amount of want and misery. The dense population suffers constantly from high rents, low wages, and the evils of absenteeism. Potatoes are the chief food of the agricultural population; when these fail, as is frequently the case, the horrors of famine visit the country. At present, many proprietors are making determined and persevering efforts to substitute other kinds of food, and to improve the condition of the country people. Education is much neglected in Ireland. There is a university at Dublin, and there are numerous schools throughout the island; but the system does not reach the mass of the labouring people, and they are generally ignorant. Such has been the amount of emigration from this beautiful, but unfortunate island, that whole districts have been depopulated; and in spite of the recent laudable exertions of proprietors, it is probable that this tide of emigration will continue to flow on.

Dublin, the capital of Ireland, is situated on both sides and at the mouth of the Liffey, in the province of Leinster. The inhabitants number 310,000. The city contains numerous and beautiful public edifices, a university, six monasteries, seven nunneries, important manufactures, and an extensive commerce. Though in general a handsome city, Dublin contains several ill-built and dingy sections, and beggars are exceedingly numerous in its streets. Perhaps no other city, except London, presents so many scenes of misery. Cork,



Irish Beggars.

the second city in Ireland in population, is situated upon the coast of Munster. It has 130,000 inhabitants, a fine harbour, and is the chief emporium of the south of Ireland. The cove is strongly fortified. Limerick has 70,000 inhabitants.

THE END.



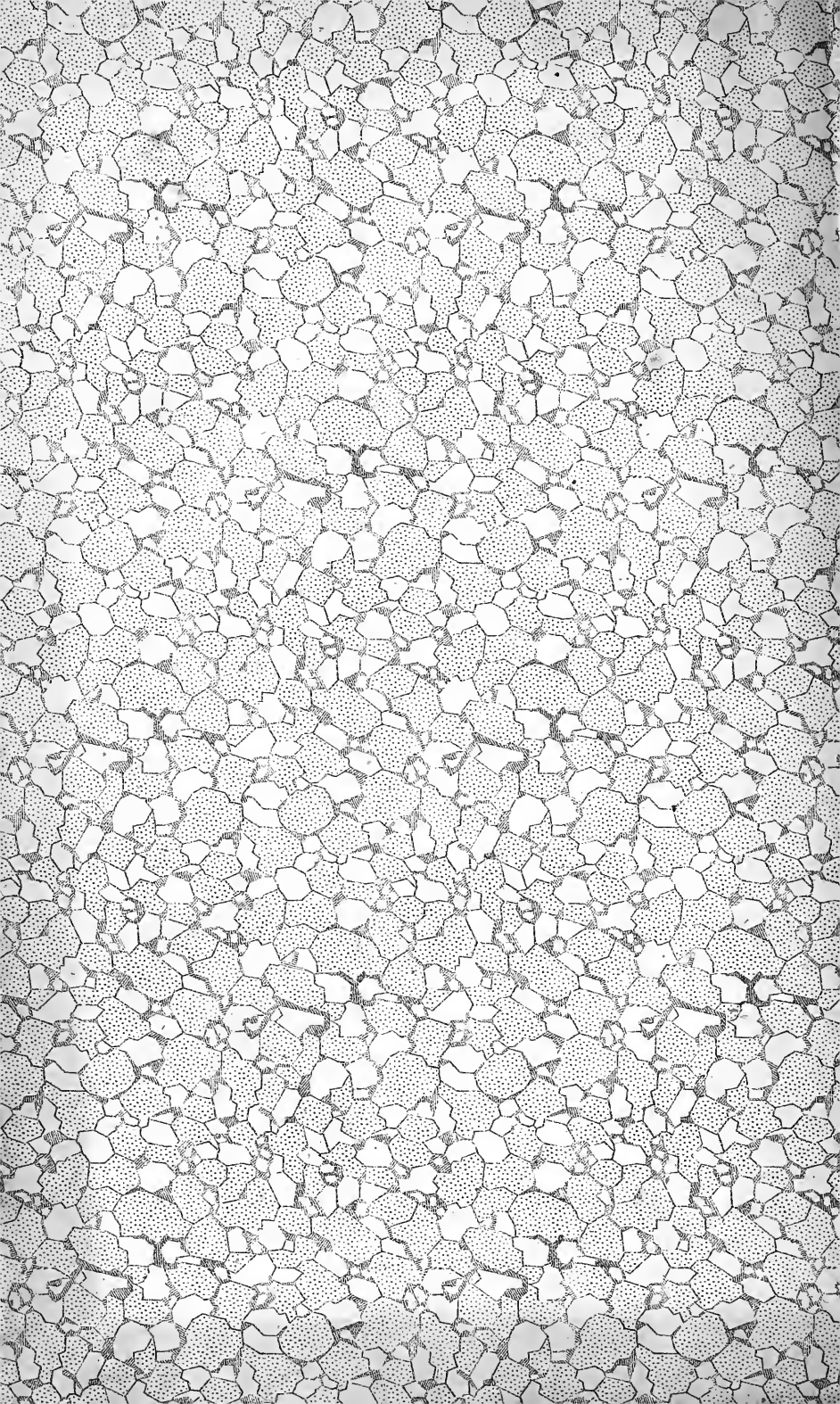














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